

The
American Historical Review

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 1884-1909

THE close relation which subsists between this journal and the American Historical Association would seem to make it imperative that special notice should be taken in these pages of so conspicuous a milestone in the history of the society as the twenty-fifth anniversary of its foundation. But even if the two were wholly independent, an American historical journal would show little perception of the main currents of recent historical progress in our country if it did not attribute great importance to the life and work of that association during the twenty-five years just ending. It is not too much to say that no agency has been so potent in the advancement of American historical scholarship.

The theme has a broader aspect. The last twenty-five or thirty years have witnessed the growth of many such societies, so many that for each of the departments of study recognized in a modern American university there exists a society national in its scope and in the extent of its membership, which binds together the scattered devotees of the particular specialty, brings them into mutual acquaintance, friendship, and regard, effaces local jealousies and chauvinistic zeal for individual universities, and increases devotion to the scientific ends pursued in common. The phenomenon has an importance beyond what is apparently suspected by the average man. No millionaire endows these societies. When the American rich man wishes to do something for the endowment of research, he still does it through the conventional channel of the universities. Yet it may be doubted whether the universities, pressed by numbers increasing with unexampled rapidity, have with all their wealth done in recent years so much for the advancement of pure research as have the poor but single-minded associations of specialists. Indeed, it might be doubted *a priori* whether the American university, in

its typical organization a body of specialists ruled over by a body of "prominent citizens", could ever be expected to promote the progress of the sciences so effectively as the scientific society, composed of specialists alone and working in unhampered devotion to intellectual ends.

Of such organizations, none has been more fruitful of good works than the American Historical Association, founded at Saratoga on September 9, 1884. Good auguries for its success might perhaps have been drawn from the fact that there were already more local historical societies in existence in the United States than local societies of any other variety, and from the expectation that the vigor and the wide diffusion of these would strengthen the foundations of a national organization. It might also have been predicted that historical scholars, since the effort to appreciate opposing opinions is of the very essence of their craft, would show themselves peculiarly adapted to harmonious co-operation. But the experiment was yet to be tried.

How much there was for superior organization to achieve, how much has in twenty-five years been accomplished by the American Historical Association and other agencies working in conjunction with it, can only be understood by giving a glance at the conditions of American historical scholarship in 1884. It is now only a minor part of the members of the Association whose age permits remembrance of those conditions; and not all of these can without effort recall the situation in detail. The state and local historical societies were perhaps not half as numerous as now, their membership, their endowments, their libraries not half as great. State historical departments or working archive establishments, of the modern type, were unknown. The *Magazine of American History* was the only general historical journal. In all the universities and colleges of the country there were apparently only fifteen professors and five assistant professors who gave all their time to history. "When a chair of history was established here", writes one of these teachers in 1883, "grave professors, educated under the old order of things, regarded it as an unwarranted expenditure of time and money. History should, they thought, be made auxiliary to some other department."

In most cases it was thus subordinated or annexed, the catalogues of that year showing combinations with political science, political economy, English literature, philosophy, comparative philology, geology, natural history, German, and French, and the chair becoming, in Dr. Holmes's phrase, a settee. The writer of these

pages, then a youthful aspirant for academic promotion, well remembers that several institutions, now abounding in historical teachers and courses, were then cautiously considering whether a professorship of history, or of history and something else, could or could not be established. He well remembers the rueful feelings with which he heard President Eliot, when discoursing to an academic audience at about that time on the unequal regard then paid to different studies in America, describe an interview with two promising young men who asked him if in his judgment it would be wise for them to fit themselves for professorships of history; "I was obliged to tell them that under existing circumstances it would be the height of imprudence." Of the seven thousand graduate students now working in American universities there are surely three hundred who are making history their main subject (too often, alas, their only subject) of attention; in 1884 it is doubtful if there were more than thirty.

Plainly, the organization of historical studies in America was not far advanced. But organization, numbers, and quantities are not all. The graduate student of that time, it is agreed on all sides, was superior to the graduate student of to-day. The undergraduate diverted larger portions of his time from athletics (more exactly, from the contemplation and discussion of athletics) to the things of the mind. The professors were few, but they included—to mention only the *stelligeri* in the catalogue—such teachers as Torrey and Gurney, Moses Coit Tyler and W. F. Allen, Herbert B. Adams and Charles Kendall Adams. Able young Americans, who had studied history in German universities when German historical instruction was at the height of its glory, were coming home full of enthusiasm, determined to make history flourish abundantly on American soil. In 1869 C. K. Adams had begun the use of the "seminary method" at Ann Arbor; in 1871 Henry Adams entered upon his seven years of brilliant and fruitful application of that method at Cambridge. Neither did America lack historians outside the academic class, who, independent of organization, were producing work of at least as much distinction as anything that has appeared in 1908 or 1909—Bancroft and Lea and Parkman and Ropes and Schouler. The truth is that, defective as our organization might be, we stood, without knowing it, at the beginning of a new and most fruitful era in the development of American historiography. To the student of the history of historical writing there is nothing surprising in this. It was as natural that the great war for nationality should be followed within twenty years by a great outburst of historical activity

as that the Reformation should breed historians, or that the first epoch-making works of Niebuhr and Boeckh and Ranke in Germany, of Guizot and Mignet and the Thierry's in France, should appear within twenty years after the Napoleonic conflict. The time was as ripe for the American Historical Association in 1884 as it was for the *Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* in 1819.

Yet the American Historical Association had a concrete genesis, and a parentage more tangible than the *Zeitgeist*. At a luncheon some fifteen years later, at the time of the Boston meeting, Professor Moses Coit Tyler publicly stated that the first suggestion of such an organization had come to him from President Daniel C. Gilman, who pointed to the value accruing from the meetings of such bodies as the American Oriental Society and the American Association for the Advancement of Science. No one who has known the creator of the Johns Hopkins University, his sympathetic intuition for the larger aspects of any department of intellectual endeavor, his acute perception of the means for advancing each particular science, will question the accuracy of the reminiscence. But no doubt it places the origin of the Association upon too narrow a basis. Many persons interested in history must have been impressed with the value of the American Social Science Association, founded in 1865, whose province was the whole circle of economic, political, and social science, and whose published proceedings commanded general respect; of the American Philological Association, founded in 1869; of the American Chemical Society (1876); of the Modern Language Association (1883), and of similar bodies. Some were manifestly influenced by the example of the National Academy of Sciences, incorporated in 1863. (Few if any knew that in 1835 an American Historical Society had been founded in Washington by Peter Force and others, had held a few annual meetings, with John Quincy Adams, Lewis Cass, and Levi Woodbury as its successive presidents, and had published a single volume of transactions.)

The call for the meeting at which the American Historical Association was founded was signed by the president and secretary of the Social Science Association (John Eaton and Frank B. Sanborn), Charles Kendall Adams of Ann Arbor, Moses Coit Tyler of Ithaca, and Herbert B. Adams. But it has never been questioned that the main influence in the movement was that of Herbert Adams, professor in the Johns Hopkins University.

Herbert Adams had come back from Germany in 1876 to take

part in the work of that novel university at Baltimore which was to be so potent a centre of influence in American higher education. Entering with enthusiasm into that development of American historical work whose promise he saw so clearly, he deliberately chose his part in the movement. To one with whom he walked in that first year, he declared that he saw before him two possible careers, that of the scholarly historian, especially the student of church history, and that of the organizer of a flourishing historical department in his university and of higher education in history in the country at large. He did not think himself capable of achieving both ends. He confessed that the former career would please him the best. Clever, well-educated, and energetic, though he had not the highest gifts of the historian, we can see that he would have attained a high degree of success in that role. But, he declared to his friend, he had definitely made up his mind that he could be of more use to the country by choosing the other alternative, and he should act on that conviction. For the chosen career, which he followed most usefully for many years, he was fitted by many high qualities—genuine devotion to history, catholic intellectual interests, the capacity to kindle enthusiasm in others, ingenuity in planning, skill in the management of men, tact, flexibility, and remarkable good nature. All these he brought to the service of the new historical association. It is not easy to exaggerate its good fortune in having as its chief motive power, throughout the formative years of its existence, a man who was at once so accomplished an organizer, so appreciative of scholarship, and so conciliatory in his conduct toward other leaders.

In September, 1883, Adams read before the American Social Science Association an elaborate paper on New Methods of Study in History,¹ dwelling especially on the seminary method, co-operation, and the organization of research. In the ensuing spring, it is recalled, his mind was actively occupied with the question, whether a general association of all those conspicuously interested in history, as teachers, investigators, and writers, might not be formed with good prospects of vitality and of success in promoting acquaintance, exchanging ideas, widening horizons, and pushing investigation into new fields. His habit of lecturing at Smith College each spring and spending the summer in the North gave him abundant opportunities to consult with other scholars to whom a similar project had occurred.

The result of these consultations was the issue in June, 1884,

¹ *Journal of Social Science*, III, 213-264.

of the call which has been mentioned. Taking advantage of the approaching annual meeting of the American Social Science Association, it summoned those who were interested to meet at the same time and place, Saratoga, September 9, to form an American Historical Association. Some forty responded to the call. A private gathering was first held, in the parlors of the United States Hotel, of those primarily interested in the problems of organization. Justin Winsor was chairman; Herbert Adams acted as secretary. The first question was that of relations to the American Social Science Association. General John Eaton, then president of that body, urged the evils of excessive specialization, the advantages of cherishing wider relations by organizing as a section of his society. Independence was however the desire of nearly all those who had assembled. President White of Cornell suggested that the advantages which General Eaton sought could readily be obtained by joint meetings with kindred societies; and this has in fact been, with great profit, the actual course of events. The American Economic Association, for instance, formed at the second meeting of the historical students, has met with them twelve times out of the twenty-four.² Independent organization having been resolved on, a committee was appointed to draw up a constitution; it consisted of Professors C. K. Adams and H. B. Adams, Dr. Clarence W. Bowen, Professors Ephraim Emerton and M. C. Tyler, and Mr. William B. Weedon.

The simple constitution then framed, and adopted the next day, has with slight alterations served the Association to the present time.³ But its preparation brought up at once some of the gravest questions of the society's future, questions vividly debated in the committee. Should the effort be made to form something like an Academy of History, small in numbers, imposing in the weight of its individual members, and exerting through that weight a powerful influence on the development of the science; or should the society be a more popular body, into which any respectable and educated person interested in history might be admitted? One who stood upon the losing side of the question has since described it as being "whether we should try to be as big as possible or as good as possible". This has a specious sound, but "good" in such matters is good in relation to the existing conditions and the pos-

² 1885, 1887, 1897, 1898, 1900-1907 inclusive.

³ The chief alterations have been, the increase of the number of elected members of the Executive Council from four to six, the provision whereby retiring presidents become members of that areopagus, and the creation of the additional office of Secretary of the Council.

sibilities of achievement. Nothing has prevented any member from presenting to the Association as learned and profound a paper as he might have presented to a select forty having thirty-nine specialties different from his; and in any body, the older heads have their full share of influence. On the other hand, how largely has the American public, scientific or other, shown itself disposed to defer to the authority, in any line, of forty Immortals—immortals voiceless for lack of endowment, and unable to obtain governmental support unless with governmental selection? Diffusion of influence, diffused participation, is the democratic mode. The older element is quickened and helped by the presence of the younger; the wiser, even, by the presence of those whom in American life they must perforce address. It would be hard to persuade anyone who has attended a meeting of the American Historical Association and carefully watched what goes on, in and out of the formal sessions, that a gathering from which nine-tenths of the present attendants were absent would do as much good for the common cause.

While the constitution was in process of formation, a beginning was made of that reading of papers which has ever since been the staple of the society's public proceedings. President White read that excellent paper "On Studies in General History and the History of Civilization" which stands first in the published transactions.⁴ Its doctrine, that, "precious as special investigations may be, most precious of all is that synthesis made by enlightened men looking over large fields, in the light of the best results of special historical research", is as valid and as much needed in 1909 as in 1884. A warning addressed to American historical teachers at the beginning of an era of intensive or seminary education, it has been justified by the difficulty, felt ever since, of reconciling the need of close training with the need of inspiring young *Gelehrten* to large views.

The other papers read were excellent types of the varieties since familiar in the proceedings of the Association. Contributions were read, in whole or in abstract, by Professor George W. Knight of Ohio State University, on Federal Land-Grants for Education in the Northwest Territory; by Dr. Edward Channing of Harvard on Town and County Government in the English Colonies of North America; by Mr. Charles H. Levermore of Johns Hopkins on the

⁴ *Papers*, I. 47-72. The first forty pages of that volume present a good official account of this first meeting. But not all members possess those five volumes of *Papers* which preceded the present *Annual Reports*, and the writer of these pages, the youngest of those who attended the original meeting of the society, took pains some years ago to obtain, from those who then survived, their recollections of its foundation. Their assistance is gratefully acknowledged.

Founders of New Haven; by Professor T. F. Crane of Cornell on Some New Sources of Medieval History (popular traditions, songs, folk-tales, preachers' *exempla*); by Dr. Kuno Francke of Harvard on the progress of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*; by Dr. Justin Winsor on the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, of which the earliest volumes were then about to be issued; by Professor Moses Coit Tyler on the Influence of Thomas Paine on the Popular Resolution for Independence; and by Dr. Austin Scott of Washington on Constitutional Growth in the United States. A good programme to begin with, it will be conceded.

At the adjourned business meeting on the morning of September 10, the new-made constitution was presented and adopted. It may be worth while to record for the present generation the names of those who were enrolled as members on that morning: *C. K. Adams, *H. B. Adams, Clarence W. Bowen, *Samuel L. Caldwell, *Calvin H. Carter, *Mellen Chamberlain, Edward Channing, Mendes Cohen, T. F. Crane, W. H. Davis, *Charles Deane, Davis R. Dewey, *John Eaton, Melville Egleston, Ephraim Emerton, Kuno Francke, *Sydney H. Gay, William T. Harris, *Rutherford B. Hayes, J. F. Jameson, *Alexander Johnston, *Rufus King, Frederick J. Kingsbury, Charles H. Levermore, *J. C. Markham, *Charles W. Parsons, *Charles A. Peabody, *James Phelan, *John Meredith Read, Richard A. Rice, Austin Scott, Henry E. Scott, Allen C. Thomas, *Herbert Tuttle, *Moses Coit Tyler, *Francis A. Walker, William B. Weeden, Andrew D. White, *Justin Winsor, and *Carroll D. Wright. Mr. William A. Mowry was enrolled later in the same day. The asterisks, which indicate those who are no longer living, show that of the original forty-one only nineteen now survive. As one recalls who were at that time the men of distinction in history, it is seen that a striking proportion of them were present at this meeting, enough at all events to augur well for adequate support of the new society; and those who were youngest must count it among the chief pleasures derived from these earlier meetings that they can remember the constant and gentle kindness of Dr. Charles Deane, the bonhomme of Professor Moses Tyler, the winning courtesy of General Francis Walker, and the ready helpfulness of Mr. Justin Winsor.

In the election of officers with which the business session concluded, President Andrew D. White, whose professorship of history in the University of Michigan and subsequent teaching at Cornell had had so important an influence on the progress of the science in America, and who is happily still with us, was chosen as the Asso-

ciation's first president, Mr. Winsor and Professor C. K. Adams as vice-presidents, Professor H. B. Adams as secretary, Dr. Clarence W. Bowen of New York as treasurer, while the Executive Council was made up by adding to these officers Mr. William B. Weeden of Providence, Dr. Charles Deane, Professor M. C. Tyler, and Professor Emerton. The list was a weighty and representative one. But no other elections had so great a permanent value for the Association as the choice of Herbert Adams as secretary and of Dr. Bowen as treasurer. During the earlier years of the society most of the labor of attending to its affairs fell naturally upon these two. Of Dr. Adams we have already spoken; he remained secretary of the Association from its foundation to December, 1900, a few months before his early and lamented death. Of the treasurer it might be thought superfluous to speak, since he has been present at every meeting save one, and no one surely is better known to all the members. Yet no one who has watched the budgets of the Association, has seen the steady and remarkable growth of its resources, and can appreciate the labor involved in twenty-five years' tenure of such an office, could withhold the expression of gratitude for so generous a service, and for so thoughtful and effective a care of the Association's finances.

The new society was received with immediate favor. By the time of the second meeting, held at Saratoga in September, 1885, the number of members had increased to 287; by the time of the third meeting, seven months later, it was more than four hundred, including seventy-five life members; by 1890 there had come to be 620 members. A series of volumes entitled *Papers of the American Historical Association* was inaugurated, published in New York, in parts and in volumes, by Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons,⁵ and containing the secretary's reports of the meetings and the texts of papers presented on those occasions. The treasurer began at once the practice of funding a portion of the income, especially the life-membership fees; by December, 1889, when the Association had been in existence but five years, its funds amounted to \$4585. The simplicity of the early transactions is marked by the fact that in those years it was customary to hold no meetings of the Executive Council other than those held at the time of the annual meetings of the society itself, and that there were no standing committees until 1895. No settled practice prevailed, for some years, as to

⁵ Five of these volumes were published, 1885-1891. They are not now to be obtained from Messrs. Putnam, but from the secretary of the Association. This may be the best place to mention that a detailed list of the contents of all the Association's publications, arranged in a convenient form by Mr. A. Howard Clark, secretary, may be found at the end of vol. I. of the *Annual Report* for 1902.

time and place of meeting. Saratoga and the end of the summer vacation were tried twice. The third and fourth meetings were held in April, 1886, and May, 1887, term-time for academic members. For the fifth meeting, the latter part of the Christmas holidays was settled upon, and this date has been maintained ever since, with one exception. No meeting was held in December, 1892, or in December, 1893.⁶ Instead, advantage was taken of the World's Fair at Chicago to hold a meeting there in July, 1893—a meeting much overshadowed by that great spectacle. The social entertainments which have so often contributed to the pleasure—sometimes also to the distraction—of the members, began with a reception kindly offered by Mr. and Mrs. Winsor at the time of the fourth or Boston-Cambridge meeting. That meeting was also marked by the first excursions, to Wellesley College and to Plymouth, and by the first instance of a joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Economic Association, in which the presidents of the two associations (Mr. Winsor and General Walker) read their presidential addresses.

The following list shows the places and times of the successive meetings of the American Historical Association, the president officiating at each meeting, and the title of his presidential address:

1. Saratoga, September, 1884.
2. Saratoga, September, 1885. Andrew D. White. "The Influence of American Ideas upon the French Revolution".
3. Washington, April, 1886. George Bancroft. "Self-government".
4. Boston and Cambridge, May, 1887. Justin Winsor. "Manuscript Sources of American History: the Conspicuous Collections Extant".
5. Washington, December, 1888. William F. Poole. "The Early Northwest".
6. Washington, December, 1889. Charles Kendall Adams. "The Recent Historical Work in the Colleges and Universities of Europe and America".
7. Washington, December, 1890. John Jay. "The Demand for Education in American History".
8. Washington, December, 1891. William Wirt Henry. "The Causes which Produced the Virginia of the Revolutionary Period".
9. Chicago, July, 1893. James B. Angell. "The Inadequate Recognition of Diplomats by Historians".
10. Washington, December, 1894. Henry Adams. "The Tendency of History".
11. Washington, December, 1895. George F. Hoar. "Popular Discontent with Representative Government".
12. New York, December, 1896. Richard S. Storrs. "Contributions made to our National Development by Plain Men".

⁶ And thus it is that the New York meeting now approaching, at which the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Association is to be observed, is not the twenty-sixth but the twenty-fifth of its annual meetings.

13. Cleveland, December, 1897. James Schouler. "A New Federal Convention".
14. New Haven, December, 1898. George P. Fisher. "The Function of the Historian as a Judge of Historic Persons".
15. Boston and Cambridge, December, 1899. James Ford Rhodes. "History".
16. Detroit, December, 1900. Edward Eggleston. "The New History".
17. Washington, December, 1901. Charles Francis Adams. "An Undeveloped Function".
18. Philadelphia, December, 1902. Alfred T. Mahan. "Subordination in Historical Treatment".
19. New Orleans, December, 1903. Henry C. Lea. "Ethical Values in History".
20. Chicago, December, 1904. Goldwin Smith. "The Treatment of History".
21. Baltimore and Washington, December, 1905. John B. McMaster. "Old Standards of Public Morals".
22. Providence, December, 1906. Simeon E. Baldwin. "Religion Still the Key to History".
23. Madison, December, 1907. J. Franklin Jameson. "The American Acta Sanctorum".
24. Washington and Richmond, December, 1908. George B. Adams. "History and the Philosophy of History".

The choice of the venerable George Bancroft for president, at the close of the second meeting, made it natural that the third meeting should be held in Washington, his winter home. "It is a striking evidence of the national aims of this growing association", says the secretary in his report, "that it should so early have advanced upon Washington." It is certain that such an advance was early contemplated by him and by other leading members, for at the second meeting the Executive Council referred to a committee consisting of Justin Winsor, Theodore F. Dwight, and Herbert Adams, the question of seeking incorporation by Congress in the District of Columbia. The thought of exerting an influence upon the action of the national government in historical matters appeared at the same early date, when, after a paper by Eugene Schuyler on Materials for American History in Foreign Archives, the Association, on his motion, instructed the Council to represent to the government the advantages and the advisability of cataloguing all such materials dated before 1800, and copying and printing the most important of them.

Though influence upon the government might prove to be a plant of slow growth, some good effects from the early movement upon Washington were immediately apparent. The attendance took on a wider range, less confined to the northeastern parts of the country

than that of the first two meetings had been. There were good papers on the history of the Northwest, on that of events centering in Washington, and on Canadian history. The president of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec began, and continued for several years, to contribute an annual survey of Canadian historical progress. Military historians, Northern and Southern, engaged in friendly public discussion, only twenty-one years after the Civil War, of campaigns in which Washington and Richmond were the strategic centres.

No other feature of this third meeting was so interesting as the presence of George Bancroft in the chair. Sprightly and energetic at the age of eighty-six, he presided with kindly enthusiasm and encouragement at all the morning sessions and at the concluding evening session. None who were present will forget the final scene, when, in moving a vote of thanks to the venerable presiding officer, Senator Hoar with classic eloquence compared the rounded completeness of his historical achievement with that of Gibbon, and congratulated him that it had been his inspiring fortune to chronicle, not decline and fall, but the origin and vigorous adolescence of a nation still marked by youth and promise. A still greater historical veteran passed across the stage at the time of the same meeting. The Association at its second meeting had elected, as its sole honorary member, Leopold von Ranke. Bancroft had notified him of the election, in terms of affectionate regard. His note of acceptance, full of good-will toward the new society of transatlantic colleagues, so many of whom revered him as the chief master of their profession, was read at the 'third meeting';⁷ he died in the ensuing April, at the ripe age of ninety.

To the biographical sketch of Ranke which Adams as secretary contributed to the next meeting⁸ he appended a statement of Ranke's important work in bringing into existence, organizing, and directing the Historical Commission connected with the Bavarian Academy of Sciences. At this fourth or Boston-Cambridge meeting a committee was appointed, on motion of Professor Tyler, "to take into consideration so much of the President's address as relates to the possible assistance of the National Government in collecting, preserving and calendaring American historical manuscripts", a subject to one part of which Professor Tyler had given earnest attention in a paper read at the preceding meeting, on the Neglect and Destruction of Historical Materials in this Country. On the report of his

⁷ The correspondence is in *Papers*, I. 483, II. 14. The Association has since elected to honorary membership William Stubbs, Samuel Rawson Gardiner, Theodor Mommsen, and James Bryce.

⁸ *Papers*, III. 101-133.

committee, which pointed to many precedents in the practice of other governments, a committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Winsor was now appointed, to test opinion and consult the government on the establishment of a national commission for the collection, preservation, and utilization of historical manuscripts. All signs pointed to a more definite "movement on Washington", already a centre of considerable scientific activity. When the Association held its fifth meeting there, in the last days of December, 1888,⁹ Mr. Winsor was able to announce, on behalf of the committee appointed at Saratoga three years before, that an act of incorporation had passed the two houses of Congress. In the Senate its sponsor had been Senator Hoar; in the House, Hon. James Phelan of Tennessee, a promising young representative and a Leipzig doctor in history.

The act of incorporation received the signature of President Cleveland on January 4, 1889. It incorporated the American Historical Association in the District of Columbia, "for the promotion of historical studies, the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts, and for kindred purposes in the interest of American history and of history in America". It provided that the Association should have its principal office in Washington, that it should report annually to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution concerning its proceedings and the condition of historical study in America, and that that official should communicate to Congress the whole of such reports, or such portions thereof as he should see fit. The act still stands unmodified, as the charter of the Association.

It is obvious that the securing of such legislation constituted a turning-point in the history of the society. Some members viewed the governmental connection with aversion, and long regarded its results with uneasiness. No doubt it has its drawbacks, as the patronage of "the great" had in the eighteenth century, and that of monarchs before and since. The chief limitation operates through the censorship vested in the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. That official will always be a man trained in the atmosphere and methods of the physical sciences rather than in those of history. His judgment, or that of his staff, respecting the merits or value of historical contributions and materials will be as little secure as would be the judgment of historians respecting scientific monographs. But he is likely to be a discreet man, aware of his limitations, and of the probability that an historical association can judge better as to what publications will advance the cause of history than

⁹ It had been intended to hold the meeting in Columbus, Ohio, in some connection with the centennial commemoration of the settlement of Ohio, but the plan fell through.

can the most eminent student of science—²provided only that the association has developed the machinery for bringing its best intelligence to bear upon the question.

In practice, the limitation has hardly been felt except in three particulars, and one of these is perhaps imaginary. It has been thought by some that the necessity of a governmental *imprimatur* for the inclusion of any piece in the *Annual Reports* has worked to the disadvantage of contributions to European as contrasted with American history. As a matter of fact, however, the *Annual Reports* for the first ten years after the *Papers* ceased show almost exactly the same percentage of articles devoted to European history as is shown in the volumes of the *Papers*. If in recent years the proportionate number of pages devoted to European history seems less, it is not because of any censorship, but because of the large amounts of space given to original documents, archive reports, and the like, for these are likely, from the very nature of the case, to be prevailingly American in their subjects. So far as the action of the Smithsonian Institution is concerned, the language of the guiding statute is perfectly explicit, the interests "of American history and of history in America" being both equally recognized, and this, as is well remembered, having been done with definite intention.

The Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution is likely, in the exercise of this somewhat anomalous function, to confine himself to the exclusion, from a report presented to Congress, of matter such as is usually excluded from other reports offered to that body. This, however, effects two serious limitations, the one based on political, the other on religious, grounds. In the first place, it is not probable, for instance, that the Association could print in a governmental volume such an article as that which Professor Hart contributed to the third volume of the old *Papers*, "The Biography of a River and Harbor Bill", a most plain-spoken analysis of recent Congressional proceedings. In the second place, Congress has a peculiar traditional feeling with regard to the printing of religious matter. The religion of the Hopi or the Igorrote is deemed a legitimate subject for historical discussion in a scientific publication of the government. Not so the Christian religion. While excellent reasons for restraint in the treatment of its history, in volumes paid for by public taxation, must occur to every right-thinking mind, instances of unreasonable objection on the part of individual members, or of unreasonable clamor on the part of portions of the public, have pushed Congress into strange extremes of caution. An impartial essay on the Spiritual Franciscans of the thirteenth century or the Interdict as practised in the twelfth would seem to be a per-

fectly non-explosive compound; but the authorities of the Smithsonian Institution, interpreting the mind of Congress as by long experience they have found it, have ruled that such discussions fall outside the lines of the *Annual Reports*. The limitation thus effected is a grave one, especially in the history of the Middle Ages, for medieval history with the Church omitted would almost be *Hamlet* with Hamlet left out. The American Society of Church History, founded in 1888, was in 1896 fused with the American Historical Association, becoming the Church History Section of the larger body. That it did not prosper as such a section was largely due to the fact that its papers, in too many cases, could not be treated on an equality with those of the main body in respect to publication.

On the other hand, few members now doubt that the establishment of governmental connection, in the form prescribed by the act of incorporation, was a wise step. That the act tended to place an expert body in the position of adviser to the government in historical matters was no small gain in a democratic country, imperfectly as the attribution has yet been realized. All civilized governments do more or less for history, through machinery of various types. Large as the American Historical Association is, it is so organized as to constitute perhaps as satisfactory an instrument as the United States government is likely to develop, for the performance of its historical functions. But, apart from this prospect, nearly all the advantages resulting from the connection may be summed up as results of the arrangement whereby the *Annual Reports* were to be printed at government expense. To the government this had the great advantage that it guaranteed the maintenance of a certain standard in at least a volume or two of that printed historical matter which, as we have seen, governments are bound to issue. To the society, it is not too much to say, the new arrangement made all the difference between having to spend most of its revenue in printer's bills and having nearly all of it free to expend in various historical good works. As membership and revenue have increased, this has become a vitally important gain. If there is anything that distinguishes the American Historical Association (anything, we may add in parenthesis, which can be pointed to as the main cause of its remarkable harmony), it is the abundance of the organized scientific activities which it has added to the mere reading of papers in annual convention. Now all these have been made possible by that freedom from printer's bills which the exchequer won through the act of January 4, 1889.

That something practical should be accomplished, something

beyond mere paper-reading and conference, was early desired by some members. At the third meeting Professor Moses Tyler followed up his paper already mentioned, on the Neglect and Destruction of Historical Materials in this Country, by offering a resolution, which was adopted, to the effect that, with a view to the better security of such materials, public attention should be extensively called to the superior opportunities which college libraries and historical societies afforded for their preservation by permanent institutions and in fire-proof repositories. Members were urged to use their influence in persuading owners of historical manuscripts to provide for their security and usefulness through such means. How Professor Tyler followed this at the next meeting with suggestions of governmental action has already been related.

At the seventh meeting another member suggested that a body of original materials for American political history be presented, with a descriptive statement, at each annual meeting, and, if approved by the Executive Council and duly edited by an appointed committee, be incorporated in the *Annual Report*. Some such materials, sent from the Bodleian Library, were printed in the report for 1892. Just before the meeting of 1894 the same member, in a letter to the Council, proposed the formation of a Historical Manuscripts Commission, a standing committee of the Association, modelled on the British Historical Manuscripts Commission, whose function it should be to collect information concerning manuscripts relating to American history, especially those in private hands and exposed to destruction, and to edit portions of them for printing in the *Annual Reports*. At the meeting itself, Mr. A. Howard Clark, at the close of a valuable paper on What the United States Government has done for History, suggested that the Association, through a system of standing committees, might secure extensive information respecting historical manuscripts, might furnish systematic statements on the historical work of the colleges, universities, and historical societies, and might even some time attempt the preparation of a comprehensive bibliography of American history. At first the Council, under the lead of Mr. Winsor, attempted another mode of dealing with the problem of scattered manuscript materials in private hands. A committee was appointed, at the close of this meeting of December, 1894, to memorialize Congress for the establishment of a Historical Manuscripts Commission.¹⁰ The effort not meeting with success, the Association in December, 1895, established a Historical Manuscripts Commission of its own.

Thus was brought into existence the first of those standing

¹⁰ At the Chicago meeting, July, 1893, a committee had been appointed to memorialize Congress for the establishment of a national archive.

committees whose work has since formed so large a part of the Association's activities and has drawn into its service the executive talents of so many members. Other practical activities had also been entered upon or essayed. At the sixth meeting, in the course of a paper by Professor W. P. Trent, the suggestion was made that state and local historical societies might annually report to the American Historical Association. One such report, indeed, was then made, which Dr. Adams hailed as foreshadowing a series. But co-operation with state and local historical societies remained spasmodic until the organization in 1904 of those annual conferences of workers in such societies, which have ever since been a feature of the annual meetings. At the sixth meeting also, Mr. Paul Leicester Ford presented a plan for a bibliography of the historical writings of the members of the Association. A partial bibliography of this sort appeared in the first *Annual Report* issued from the Government Printing Office, that for 1889, and was continued in those of the next three years. The *Annual Report* for 1890 contained the first installment of a bibliography of the publications of American historical societies, by Mr. Appleton P. C. Griffin, completed by the second installment two years later, and reissued in a complete form in the report for 1895, and again, much elaborated, in 1905.

Despite these signs of useful activity, however, it is not to be denied that at the end of the year 1895, seven years after incorporation, there were evidences of disquietude and discontent. With assets of \$8,000 and current annual expenses not more than forty per cent. of its income, it was felt that the Association might do more. It was doubted if it was holding its own in influence upon the historical profession. The number of members had remained nearly stationary since incorporation. When a conference at New York in April, 1895, chiefly representative of the leading universities, established the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW as the general organ of the profession—a position which, we may without impropriety say, was immediately accorded to it—it was established independently of the American Historical Association, and supported for three years by a separate association of guarantors. The voluminous programmes of the most recent meetings had seemed to lack purpose, and the meetings themselves to fall short in vivacity and effect. Progressive members of the Council attempted to improve conditions, by encouraging the activities described above, by planning for a series of prize essays, more elaborate than the usual contributions to the annual volumes, and by various other devices. But it seemed to the wisest that no means of averting stagnation and

recovering tone to the society would be so effectual as to break up the habit of perpetual meeting in Washington. Seven of the last nine annual meetings had been held there. It is not a literary nor, characteristically, a university town. What was more important, it was far from central to the members. The geographical centre of the membership has always lain some two degrees of latitude farther north. A policy of migration, which would make it easy for a great number of the members to attend at least some of the meetings, would, it was believed, administer the needed tonic to the Association. Accordingly, an active group of members, led by Professor George Burton Adams in the Council, but aided from without by Professors William A. Dunning and Albert Bushnell Hart—three men to whose combined sagacity and energy the society owed much at this second turning-point in its career, and has owed much ever since—engaged in a vigorous effort to break the chain of habit and set the Association upon its travels again.

To the vigilant secretary, Herbert Adams, the thought of migration was distinctly unwelcome. He had worked hard for the Washington connection and had so shaped the first *Annual Reports* as to fortify it. He had cemented it by securing the election, as assistant secretary, of an official of the National Museum, allied to the Smithsonian Institution, Mr. A. Howard Clark (who later succeeded him as secretary, and for ten years in the one office and for nearly nine years in the other performed self-sacrificing services to the society which few were in a position to appreciate). Adams valued the Washington connection highly, and feared to endanger it by migration. For him and for many other members the annual hospitality of the Columbian University and the National Museum, of the Cosmos Club, and of Mr. and Mrs. Horatio King, had come to invest the meetings with a comfortable sense of habit; and at first they were indisposed to go farther than the earlier expression of the Council, that Washington was the best place for meetings in winter, but that summer meetings might be held at discretion in any attractive place. At the meeting of December, 1895, however, a committee on time and place of meeting was appointed which was committed to the progressive policy. It reported in favor of holding the twelfth annual meeting in New York City, and its report was adopted.

The success of the experiment was so pronounced that the secretary, among whose faults no one had ever noted inflexibility or pride of opinion, was permanently convinced, and made no opposition to further migration. The New York meeting was well-planned, well-attended, interesting, and vivacious. It resulted in the addition of

two hundred members, including the membership of the American Society of Church History. It inaugurated those profitable discussions of pedagogic problems in history, which, as the academics have come to be the prevailing element in the attendance, have assumed so large a place in the Association's proceedings. At the instance of Professor Morse Stephens it appointed the Committee of Seven on the Teaching of History in Secondary Schools, whose report, published in the *Annual Report* for 1898 and as a separate volume, has done so much to improve the quality of teaching in that grade and to increase the sense of its importance and dignity. It received the first report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, embracing several hundred pages of documentary material.

The policy of migration, vindicated by its immediate effects, was permanently accepted. After meetings in Cleveland and New Haven, a practice was informally adopted which safeguards the Washington connection and minimizes competition for the privilege of entertaining the Association, yet secures the benefits of mobility. It is a practice of rotation, whereby the Association meets one year in an Eastern city, the next in a Western city, the third in Washington, where the official headquarters are situated. Substantially though not inflexibly maintained, this practice has brought to the society all the advantages originally predicted by the advocates of migration, and to many towns and universities the quickening influence of a national historical gathering.

Since the turning of this point the American Historical Association has sailed forward prosperously on an even keel. The acts of its annual meetings, are they not written in the successive April numbers of this journal? It must suffice here, to note the main steps of progress, and especially the inception, one after another, of those activities the sum of which gives to the Association its present character. By an arrangement partially set in operation at the Cleveland meeting of 1897 and consummated at the New Haven meeting of 1898, the society came to the aid of the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, providing for its support and for its distribution to all members, on terms which in no way impair its independence. A standing Committee on Bibliography, and a general standing committee on the local and state historical interests of the Association, were also instituted in 1898, a standing Committee on Publications in 1899. To the Historical Manuscripts Commission, which among other things has published the correspondence of Calhoun, of Chase, and of the French ministers of President Washington's time, was added in the last-named year a Public Archives Commission, charged to investigate and report, from the point of view

of the historical student, upon the character, contents, and administration of public archives in the United States. It has developed its work with extraordinary vigor, and has already published valuable reports on the archives of a majority of the states. The prize for an historical essay, first bestowed in December, 1895, and subsequently named the Justin Winsor Prize, has now become confined to American history. For essays in European history another prize was established in 1903, and fitly named the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize, in memory of the society's first secretary, who had ended his useful and public-spirited life in 1901, bequeathing to the Association a considerable portion of his property. In 1902 a series of volumes embracing the chief "Original Narratives of Early American History" was resolved upon. In 1903 provision was made for the formation of a Pacific Coast Branch, holding separate meetings, as distance makes needful, yet in reality strengthening the parent body. In 1904, after the analogy of the Committee of Seven, a Committee of Eight on the Teaching of History in Elementary Schools was appointed, whose report is now nearly ready for issue. The annual meeting of 1906 saw a reorganization of the Committee on Publications, on an improved plan adapted to the new form of Congressional appropriations for printing, while that of 1908 erected the prize essays into an independent series of the Association's publications, and provided for a committee to prepare, with the co-operation of a representative British committee, a select bibliography of modern English history.

Meanwhile the membership of the Association, which from 1895 to 1905 grew at a rate approaching two hundred per annum, stands now at 2500. Its funds amount to \$26,000. It enjoys an annual revenue of \$8000, and a Congressional appropriation which is virtually a credit of \$7000 per annum with the Government Printing Office. Probably no historical society in the world is more numerous; it might perhaps be successfully maintained that none is more extensively useful. If the quality of all that it does is not yet of ideal excellence, it may be that its work is done as well as can be expected from an organization no member of which can give to its concerns more than a minor portion of his time. At all events, it has played an effective part in the historical progress of the last twenty-five years, and none of those who took part in its foundation at Saratoga, in that now remote September, need feel regret at his share in the transaction. That it may flourish abundantly in the future must be the wish of all who care for the interests "of American history and of history in America".

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON.

BRITISH DRUIDISM AND THE ROMAN WAR POLICY

IN spite of the recent revival among us of the Celtic, one is still inclined to doubt, with the vigorous writer in the *Edinburgh Review* of 1863, the claims of British Druidism to a place in sober history. Certain efforts to resuscitate the old faith have failed to catch the dull, cold ear of this scientific time. In most quarters where reason discriminates between truth and fancy, one who would start again the question of British Druidism might be met with a "Ne actum agas". Still, serious historians like Mommsen, Schiller, and Hübner express a confident view that the Roman annexation of Britain was rendered necessary by a common religious system of insular and Continental Celts.¹ The tale of a British Druidism is thus invested with the guise not only of historical truth but of considerable historical significance. The Claudian invasion would appear to some extent as a kind of crusade. Paul, writing in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher*, 1892, declares without hesitation that "In the corporation of the Druids the Celtic nation though politically extremely divided had its centre and preserved a strong national consciousness." Mommsen² apparently pronounces the island of Anglesey to have been "the chief seat of the priestly system" of the whole Celtic race, and again, "the true focus of British national and religious resistance".³ Jung styles Anglesey "a centre of the Celtic agitation".⁴ Let us then examine once again the evidence of ancient writers and medieval story as to this British Druidism and its effect upon Roman war-policy.

¹ Duruy's travesty of the theory is interesting. See the English translation of his *Roman History*, IV. 420-423, 497-498. Mr. Bernard Henderson (*Nero*, pp. 199, 206 ff.) also develops with some imagination the view of the German historians. Does he, however, on p. 199, think that it was or was not advisable in 43 A.D. to conquer Britain? Professor Bury in his *History of the Roman Empire from 27 B. C. to 180 A. D.*, pp. 259, 400, agrees with the German theory, but is a little more cautious in its expression. Professor Schuckburgh, *Augustus*, p. 152, has no faith at least in the story that Augustus seriously intended to invade Britain: Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit*, I. 326, is on this point non-committal for the most part.

² *Provinces*, I. 188.

³ *Ibid.*, I. 193.

⁴ *Romanische Landschaften*, p. 280. Cf. Lefevre, *Les Gaulois*, pp. 92 ff., for more of such ideas. Some of these writers are "men of imagination haunted by the idea of a Celtic race", as Dottin says, *L'Antiquité Celtique*, p. 357. In their terse accounts of the Claudian invasion Mr. Pelham and Mr. Furneaux pass over the religious issue in silence.

It is clear from a number of sources that in Gaul, at any rate, the Celts had in their progress towards civilization evolved a distinct learned aristocracy of bards, priests (*tepesis*), and philosopher-magicians called druids, "very wise ones",⁵ who exercised considerable power among the people. The druids, or the leading element in this privileged class, were an organized hierarchy under an arch-druid.⁶ They administered the sacred things in general of the Gauls, professed magic, and pretended to large metaphysical or cosmogonic knowledge orally preserved. This aristocracy of blood, culture, and sacred power united the Gallic tribes in a loose religious union. And as the religious beliefs of the Gauls seem to have differed little from the general Aryan polytheism,⁷ the term Druidism must denote not so much a unique system of theology as the peculiar organization of a hierarchic caste that kept a secret magic-lore and conducted the religious side of Gallic life.⁸

This Gallic Druidism is well attested. But the light shed by ancient writers on a pan-Celtic, or a separate British Druidism, or on the religious motive of the Claudian invasion of 43 A. D., is faint enough. Nothing at all was said by the ancients or by any one before our day of Claudius as assailing Druidism in Britain.⁹ Those ancient writers who described Britain as almost sundered from the rest of the world were painfully ignorant of the purpose now attributed by some historians to Claudius. If that emperor did aim at the final destruction of Druidism by invading its stronghold in Britain, he left his educated subjects singularly in the dark as to what he really intended or accomplished. For no ancient writer assigned to the Claudian expedition any other motive than that of aggrandizement and unreasoning desire of military fame. And if this silence be regarded as proving not the non-existence of the pan-Celtic Druidism as a system, but only that it had little or no political consequence, it need only be added that the vague indifference of the ancients to the political bearings of Druidism is not more striking than their silence regarding the bare existence of such a pan-Celtic system.

But we have two splendid testimonies, it may be argued, for the existence of British Druidism, if not for an organized pan-Celtic

⁵ Holder, *Alteltischer Sprachschatz*.

⁶ Caesar, *B. G.*, VI. 13.

⁷ *Ibid.*, VI. 17.

⁸ Cf. Ausonius's "Stirpe druidarum" with the Hebrew Levites. Mommsen (*IV*, 226) lays stress on the hierarchic condition of Gaul. Cf. Dottin, *L'Antiquité Celtique*, p. 289, "the hierarchy of the Druids".

⁹ Cf. Niebuhr's brief notice of the invasion, *Ancient Ethnography*, II. 322-323.

union and its greater menace to the Roman Empire. There is the word of Caesar,¹⁰ and the reference in the thirtieth chapter of the fourteenth book of Tacitus's *Annals*.

Amidst a variety of pleasant tales that he heard in Gaul, Caesar gives us one all too brief scrap of story suggesting a British origin for druidic theology and ritual. He further gives us to understand that young Gauls wishing to become fully equipped druids commonly ("plerumque") went to Britain to study, let us say, at the headquarters or university of the order.

In this passing notice one thing is perfectly clear and certain. It is that Caesar does not speak from any actual observation of his own, but from hearsay or the narratives of previous writers. His account of the Hercynian unicorn is of the same kind, and more confidently set down.

Caesar had written from his own observation, "neque enim temere praeter mercatores illo adit quisquam."¹¹ He did not summon any druid graduates of a British university to corroborate or supplement the scanty information of traders about the unknown island.¹² Yet such druids, the best educated of the Gallic aristocracy, men of weight and prominence, would have been particularly well fitted to give a detailed account of Britain from an intimate personal acquaintance. Divitiacus, a druid, was on the Roman side! Caesar does not put forward in VI. 13, written or compiled along with the following chapters certainly not long after the British campaigns, any personal experience in support of his "disciplina in Britannia reperta atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur." He had been equally silent in describing Britain¹³ as to its being the glorious high-seat of Druidism. It may be safely concluded, at least, that pan-Druidism, if it existed, did not influence Caesar's invasion of Britain.¹⁴

The story told to Caesar that Druidism originated in Britain and spread thence to Gaul should not be too seriously taken. The Britons had scarcely any intercourse with the mainland up to Caesar's time, and what they had was passive.¹⁵ Even the Belgic or Brythonic Britons of the South and East were mostly in a savage condition. The Goidels and Silures of the West were still less

¹⁰ *B. G.*, VI. 13.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, IV. 20.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, V. 12-14.

¹⁴ Cf. *Edinburgh Review* (1863), p. 45. But one writer assures us that "Caesar had recognized the necessity of conquering in Britain." Cf. Hübner, *Römische Herrschaft in Westeuropa*, pp. 9, 12.

¹⁵ Strabo, II. 5, 8, etc.

advanced.¹⁶ Rhys, therefore, does not believe that Britons ever sent missionaries to Gaul.¹⁷ And it is almost impossible to believe that young Gauls "commonly" or ever went to learn from rude tutors in the swamps and glens of Siluria.

Probably the Gallic druids themselves were responsible for Caesar's "disciplina . . . existimatur".¹⁸ Like some other philosophies that of the druids, in order to surround it with greater sanctity, was given out by its professors to have come from beyond the seas. Ammianus observes¹⁹ that part of the Gauls were said by the druids to have come from "extimis insulis".²⁰ We may then connect the stories of racial and religious origins and regard them as equally baseless. Perhaps we may compare the "White Island" of the Brahmins which also some enthusiasts have identified with Britain. The British Isles were almost fabulous before Caesar's time. Pelloutier²¹ relates an ancient story from Procopius²² that they were the Druidic Islands of the Blest. They were, then, naturally seized upon as the sacred source of druidic science; or it may easily be that Caesar or his informants before him, hearing the Gallic legend of the "extimis insulis" and some story of religious pilgrimage, confused with Britain such doubtful islands as those referred to by Strabo,²³ or any of the magic islands of the Atlantic (especially about Britain, the unknown world) to which the fancy of early romancers had clung.²⁴ The idea of a sacred island haunts the venerable pages of antiquity with a wonderful persistence.²⁵

Besides Caesar, Tacitus is cited as authority for the existence of the druidic system in Britain. Referring to the attack of Paulinus

¹⁶ *B. G.*, V. 14; and see Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, ch. 1., also Elton, *Origins*, p. 158.

¹⁷ *Celtic Britain*, p. 72.

¹⁸ Dottin, *L'Antiquité Celtique*, p. 280, says, "We must hold to the opinion reported by Caesar that the teaching of the Druids came from Britain." On what grounds "must we"? Why this absolute "must"? Especially when Dottin says elsewhere, p. 262 (making little of Ammianus, XV. 9. 8, and Caesar, *B. G.*, VI. 14), that the doctrine of immortality "far from being the result of the meditations of the philosophers of Britain, is Indo-European". Cf. also what he says on p. 275, quoted below, p. 35, note 93.

¹⁹ XV. 9. 4.

²⁰ Robert Owen, *The Kymry*, p. 8, thinks that "Atlantis" may be meant.

²¹ *Histoire des Celtes*, II. 185 ff. Cf. Plutarch, *De Def. Orac.*, 18, cited on p. 28, below.

²² *De Bell. Get.*, IV. 20.

²³ IV. 4. 6.

²⁴ As reported in Strabo, III. 5. 11; Dio, LXXVI. 12; Mela, III. 6; etc. Ammianus, living later, when Britain was well known, did not venture to render his vague "extimis insulis" into "Britannia".

²⁵ Plutarch, *De Def. Orac.*, 18; Tac., *Germ.*, 40; *id.*, *Ann.*, XIV. 30.

on Anglesey,²⁶ Tacitus describes the island not as the awful shrine of pan-Celtic or British Druidism, nor even as a local religious centre, but only as "vires rebellibus ministrantem". In introducing the subject of Mona²⁷ Tacitus does not mention that it was a sacred island; but he does say that it was populous and a refuge for fugitives. This is a very mild characterization, for a rhetorician, of the Celtic Mecca, "the focus of the national and religious resistance", as Mommsen says. But then follows a very interesting chapter,²⁸ the gospel as it were, of British Druidism, describing the demonstration of "Druids praying and cursing, and women running about dressed in funereal black, with torches in their hands and hair wildly flowing". But the Romans easily quelled a "mob of fanatics and women", cut down the sacred "groves", and broke the altars defiled with human gore.

Here at least, then, if Tacitus wrote all of this and if his information was correct, we have positive proof of the existence of druids in Anglesey at the time of Nero. And in connection with this we should consider the old Irish word *druí* (sorcerer) and the Welsh *derwydd*, as proving perhaps that there were in ancient times druids among the savage, skin-clad Britons. There were, then, let us say, British druids. Were the druids general among the British tribes? We do not know. Did the name druid denote the same kind of person in both Britain and Gaul? The writer of *Ann.*, XIV. 30, may seem to identify his Anglesey *druidae* with the great druids of Gaul. Did Druidism, the theological science and institution of an "educated" hierarchic caste, Druidism as known to Roman writers, exist to any extent, however geographically limited, in Britain? Or were the British druids at best the counterpart in some respects of the Teutonic king-priests,²⁹ or the Gallic *druides* or *magistri* described by Strabo and Diodorus Siculus, rather than of the Gallic druids, who were in a sense regularly graduated theologians and organized beyond the limits of canton and tribe? May the British druids have been usually mere sorcerers or medicine-men, as far removed in dignity from the Gallic druids as the despised private augurs at Rome from the stately augural college recognized as a public institution?³⁰ In short, does the mere co-

²⁶ *Agric.*, 14.

²⁷ *Ann.*, XIV. 29.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, XIV. 30.

²⁹ Professor Rhys himself says (*Celtic Heathendom*, p. 231): "Druidism and Kingship went hand in hand" in Ireland. Dr. Fowler, in his edition of Adamnan's *Vita S. Columbae*, p. 10, notes that the Irish *druidh* is equivalent to the Latin *magus*. Cf. foot-note 93, p. 35, below.

³⁰ Cf. *Edinburgh Review* for April, 1882, p. 404.

incidence that the word "druid" (wise man), used by both insular³¹ and Continental Celts, and which was applied to the wise men or magi in both Britain and Gaul, prove that the magi of Britain and Gaul were of the same organization or alike organized or nearly identical in character? This is not proved, nor probable.

The question whether the *druidae* of Anglesey belonged to any religious organization, whether there was a British Druidism, receives no direct answer from the classical writers. But there are several considerations which point to a negative.

In the first place no ancient writer so much as hints at any priest-directed national religious movement among the Britons against Roman rule. In Gaul the Emperors Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius are reported as suppressing the druids. Tacitus tells how in 69 A. D. the call of the druids went forth to awaken in the Gallic Celts strange memories of the nation's glorious past and stir them to revolt.³² But political and economic considerations, and not religious feeling, are assigned by Tacitus and Dio to the British revolt of 61, although, if the attack on Anglesey had been the violation of a national sanctuary, the bitterness thus aroused could not have been passed over in the *Agricola*, 15, where the causes of the British uprising are set forth. But Tacitus does not suggest that the disaffected Britons were "exasperated by Paulinus' attack on the most sacred seat of the national religion", or that "the old vehement Celtic faith burst forth for the last time."³³ He says only that the Britons (of Norfolk and Suffolk)³⁴ took courage "in the absence of the legate", who by going to so distant a place as Anglesey gave them a chance to plot behind his back. Not because of druidic ties binding Norfolk and Anglesey in sympathy, but because, on the contrary, those localities were so wide asunder, did the men of Norfolk, according to Tacitus, rise in rebellion.

Secondly, neither Tacitus nor any other ancient writer except Caesar³⁵ anywhere alludes to a British Druidism; nor are *druidae* of the Britons-in-general anywhere mentioned. In *Ann.*, XIV. 30, the *druidae* appear as part of the paraphernalia of the holy isle alone. The following are the ancient references to Druidism as being a Gallic institution:³⁶

³¹ I do not know whether the insular use of the word preceded or followed the reading of Caesar and Pliny in Britain and Ireland. See pp. 35-36, below.

³² *Hist.*, IV. 54.

³³ Mommsen, *Provinces*, I. 195.

³⁴ The rebellion of 61 was local, not broadly national.

³⁵ See above.

³⁶ Of course no one would contend that any one of the following passages helps much to disprove a British Druidism; but the combined effect is impressive, and Pliny, XXX. 4, may be noted in particular, along with Mela.

- Cicero: *De Divinatione*, I. 41: "In Gallia Druidae sunt."
- Strabo, IV. 4. 4, describes Druidism in Gaul at some length.
- Diodor. Sic., V. 31, gives an account of the Gallic druids.
- Mela, III. 2 and 18, gives an account of the Gallic druids. He has nothing to say in III. 6 of British druids.
- Lucan, bk. I., ll. 450 ff., refers to the druids of Gaul.
- Pliny, *H. N.*, XXIX. 12. 1: "Galliarum Druidae". *H. N.*, XXIV. 62. 1: "Druidae Gallorum". *H. N.*, XVI. 95. 1: "Galliarum admiratio . . . Druidae (ita suos appellant magos)", etc. *H. N.*, XXX. 4: "Tiberius sustulit Druidas Gallorum." Cf. the following paragraph in which Pliny refers to the excessive superstitions of the Britons comparing their practice of magic ("eam artem", i. e., magicam, "celebrat") to that of Persia, not Gaul.²⁷ The druids, in Pliny's opinion, are a peculiarly Gallic order of magicians. To no other magicians does Pliny give this name.
- Tacitus, *Hist.*, IV. 54, shows how the centre, at any rate, of Druidism and of druidic opposition to Rome was in Gaul. Cf. Plin., *H. N.*, XXX. 4, and Sueton., *Claud.*, 25. We never hear of a similar organized and organizing force in Britain.
- Sueton., *Claud.*, 25: "Druidarum religionem apud Gallos penitus aboleuit." If Claudius invaded Britain in order to crush the national spirit of the Gallic Celts by striking a death blow at the heart of the druidic system in Britain, Suetonius seems to have been unaware of such a policy. If it had been so, he would not have said "apud Gallos", merely.
- Ammianus, XV. 9: Account of the druids of Gaul.
- Origen, *Contra Cels.*, I. 16, mentions the "Druids of the Gauls".
- Id.*, Philos., 2: "τοὺς παρὰ Κελτοῖς δρυΐδας". *Ibid.*, 25: "Δρυΐδαι οἱ ἐν Κελτοῖς", etc.
- Diog. Laert., Proem., 4:²⁸ "Among the Keltai", i. e., Germans, etc., "and the Gauls the so-called Druids". Britons were of course not included among the "Keltai" (cf. Strabo, IV. 4. 5. IV. 5. 1-3). Diogenes is mistaken as to the Germans, just as Caesar seems mistaken as to a British Druidism, and the evidence for a British and a German Druidism is almost equal.
- Dio Chrysos., *Or.*, 49: "Κελτοὶ δὲ οὗς ὀνομάζουσι Δρυΐδας"; another error as to a German Druidism.²⁹
- Clem. Alexand., *Strom.*, I. 15, in a list of the magi of the different nations, enumerates "the Prophets of the Egyptians, the Chaldees of Assyria, the Druids of the Gauls, and the philosophers of the Keltai". Nothing is said of the Britons.
- Victor, *Caes.*, IV. 2: "per Galliam Druidarum famosae superstitiones".
- Cyrill. Alex., *Adv. Julian.*, bk. IV., p. 133E: "Γαλατῶν οἱ δρυΐδαι".
- Comm. Lucan.* (Usener), p. 33: "Driadae gens Germaniae . . . Driadae philosophi Gallorum". Britain at any rate excluded!
- Suidas, s. v.: "δρυΐδαι παρὰ Γαλάταις φιλόσοφοι καὶ σεμνόδοι". The good lexicographer or his authorities would seem to have lived too early to be acquainted with Britain as the headquarters of Druidism.

²⁷ That Pliny here means to refer to Britain not Druidism but the practice of magic in general is made certain by "adeo ista toto mundo consensere". Pliny could not speak of all the world as possessed by a common Druidism!

²⁸ See also citation by Steph. Byz., s. v. Δρυΐδαι.

²⁹ Cf. also below: *Comm. Lucan.* (Usener).

Neither Pliny's encyclopedia nor the dictionary called of Suidas speaks of British druids or Druidism. Both view the druids and Druidism as distinctly Gallic.

To these passages which refer Druidism explicitly to Gaul, the following should be added, in which as describing the institutions of the Britons one would expect to find some notice of their Druidism, if it existed:

Caesar, *B. G.*, V. 12-14; Strabo, IV. 1-3; Diodor. Sic., V. 21-22; Mela, III. 6 (who clearly never dreamed of druids in Ireland, either, for its inhabitants, he says, were "virtutum ignari, pietatis admodum expertes"); Tac., *Agric.*, 10-12; Solinus, c. 22; Gildas, cc. 3-4. Solinus says of the Silures that they "deos percolunt".⁴⁰ Though inclined to exaggeration and fond of the marvellous, Solinus does not indicate that druids of any kind existed in Britain. Dio⁴¹ apparently knows no *druidae*, even of Anglesey. In Plutarch's *De Def. Orac.*, c. 18, one Demetrius, a Cilician grammarian returned from Britain, tells of magic isles just west of Britain⁴² and of his visit, at the emperor's command, to an island next to them, "in which a few people lived, all of whom the Britons regarded as sacred". This looks like Mona, but Demetrius or Plutarch knows nothing of druids there.

It is clear that Britain was not, in the opinion of Roman writers, the chief seat of Druidism. It is almost as certain that Druidism was not known at all except as existing in Gaul.⁴³ The story retailed by Caesar received no credit from later Roman writers when Britain had become better known.

In the third place, Tacitus, whose *Annals* tell of Anglesey druids, does not know the origin of the Britons. If he had known of a druidic system among them he could not have failed to connect them with their Gallic brethren. Some of the tribes he traces to Spain, some to Germany, and indeed those of the southeast (the Brythons) to Gaul.⁴⁴ But Professor Rhys says that "there is no evidence that druidism was ever the religion of any Brythonic people."⁴⁵ Caesar seems to hold the same view regarding the Brythonic Belgae of the Continent,⁴⁶ who plumed themselves on

⁴⁰ This tallies with Pliny, *H. N.*, XXX. 5. In both passages the British Druidism is conspicuously absent.

⁴¹ LXII. 7-8.

⁴² Cf. *De Facie in Orbe Lunae*, c. 67.

⁴³ Cf. Facciolati's definition of the word *Druidae*.

⁴⁴ *Agric.*, 11.

⁴⁵ *Celtic Britain*, p. 69; and cf. p. 67.

⁴⁶ *B. G.*, VI. 13, does not include here the Belgae "in omni Gallia". Cf. VI. 12, where the Haedui and the Sequani are called the leading states of Gaul;

their German origin and customs; and the Brythons of southeastern Britain were an offshoot from the Continental Belgae.⁴⁷ The very name "Britannia", which replaced the older "Albion", seems to designate the land occupied by the Belgic Brythons.⁴⁸ The most civilized of the Britons, therefore, those "proximi Gallis",⁴⁹ who resembled the Continental Belgae, though a little less advanced and in the interior of the island somewhat assimilated to the more barbarous Goidels,⁵⁰ approached in their manner of life and institutions, at the time of Caesar, nearer to the Germans than to the Gauls proper. So, the statement of Tacitus regarding the religion of the southeastern Britons, too general in any case⁵¹ to be taken as referring to so striking a phenomenon of religion as Gallic Druidism, cannot intimate the presence of that system in Britain. Simply the common naturalistic religion of the old Celts and Teutons at large, or at most the similarity between the Brythonic British and the non-druidic Belgic or Gallic religion, is indicated.⁵² As for a Silurian or Goidelic Druidism which Professor Rhys seems to maintain, Tacitus would not have proposed an Iberian origin for the Silures, if he had known of the druidic system among them or their next-door neighbors the Ordovices.⁵³ He cannot dream of Druidism among the northern Britons, when he affirms their German affinities.⁵⁴ Tacitus is apparently quite unaware of either a national or a sectional British druidic system, if he finds at least three unlike peoples in the island, and, at most, suggests that "it is credible" that the *southeastern* Britons are of Gallic, *i. e.*, Belgic, origin.⁵⁵

Finally, the material and social condition of the Britons, in many respects so closely resembling that of the Teutons,⁵⁶ might

the Belgae cannot be viewed as part of Gaul. See *B. G.*, I. 1, II. 3, 1, II. 4, VI. 24, and *cf.* I. 1, 6, I. 30. He says, I. 1, 2, that the institutions of Gaul proper and Belgica differ. *Cf.* Mommsen, *History*, IV. 277-278; Froude, *Caesar*, pp. 216, 296-297; Niebuhr, *Ancient Ethnography*, II. 308.

⁴⁷ *B. G.*, V. 12, 2; 21, 1.

⁴⁸ See Furneaux, *Tac. Agric.*, p. 32.

⁴⁹ *Agric.*, 11.

⁵⁰ *B. G.*, V. 14.

⁵¹ *Agric.*, 11, "eorum sacra". And how could any one in 97 A. D. refer to Gallic Druidism as present-day *sacra*? It was extinct, as a religious system.

⁵² See Rhys, p. 67. In 97 A. D. Gaul was as non-druidic as Belgica had been in Caesar's time; yet if Tacitus had known that Druidism ever existed in Britain he could hardly have failed to notice it as a Gallic phenomenon of that country.

⁵³ Mr. Furneaux does not admit Druidism among the Goidels of Ireland and Caledonia. *Agric.*, p. 33, n. 4. One writer excludes it from one place, another from another.

⁵⁴ *Agric.*, 11, "adseverant".

⁵⁵ More exactly he might say "Belgic". But in Tacitus's day Gauls proper and Belgae were already fused, Druidism and other former points of difference being mainly obliterated.

⁵⁶ Herod., III. 14; Mela, III. 51; Caes., V. 14; Solin., 22; etc.

forbid us to believe not only that the more civilized Gauls should derive their religious system from Britain, but that the Britons, especially the savage Goidels, should have made the doubtful progress to a hierarchy of quasi-theologians.

Gaidoz has argued, it is true, that the more primitive conditions of Goidelic life would constitute rather the reason why a pre-Celtic Druidism should have been in western Britain better preserved. But if, as he, Reinach, and Professor Rhys think, Druidism was the common aboriginal religion from the Baltic to Gibraltar, why should it have persisted only in a part of Gaul,⁵⁷ or at least have caught Roman attention only there? There it did arouse their wonder in a special way, as I have shown, though Roman writers were not very particular or discriminating in matters of barbaric religion. Dottin very reasonably rejects the pre-Celtic theory,⁵⁸ maintaining that the popular Gallic, rather than the Druidic, religion, was largely a survival from anterior beliefs.⁵⁹ And whatever Gaidoz may say about a pre-Celtic Druidism, Tacitus was clearly unaware of such a thing in the pre-Celtic Silures whom he was ready to trace to an Iberian origin. Caesar's story of British origins and of a British university is thoroughly discredited not only by his own personal observations and actions, and by the general evidence of ancient writers, but also by the remoteness and savagery of old Wales.

It would seem, then, that the druids of ancient Britain, if the single mention of Anglesey *druidae*, and the Irish and Welsh words *druí* and *derwydd* prove that they existed at all, were not members of an intertribal "educated" hierarchic caste, but king-priests, or isolated men of parts, strolling bards, or simple medicine-men—any who might possess superior intelligence or cunning, and likewise the power of beguiling themselves and others by a rude eloquence. Apparently the simple sorcerer druid ("wise one") of the old Celts, if such there was, whether he was pre-Celtic or Celtic, had stood still among the Celts who had migrated to Britain,⁶⁰ except perhaps in refinements of diabolical magic or cruel ritual; had disappeared, perhaps under Teutonic influence, among the Belgae who remained in Continental Belgica; but had advanced to a peculiar dignity and

⁵⁷ Plus a part of Britain, say Rhys and Gaidoz. T. Rice Holmes (*Ancient Britain*, London, 1907, pp. 290-291), who thinks, without showing evidence, that the Brythons had druids, implies that if they had *not*, then neither had the Goidels, who were much mixed with the Brythons, and here he seems to divine truly.

⁵⁸ *L'Antiquité Celtique*, p. 295.

⁵⁹ Cf. Bertrand, *La Religion des Gaulois*, pp. 21 ff.

⁶⁰ Whether he went with them or was there before them. Cf. the Celts of northern Italy and Spain among whom the Romans never noticed Druidism.

intertribal caste organization in Gaul proper. The term "druid" has a technical significance as applied in Gaul, but apparently not so in Britain. Gaul had Druidism, Britain may have had her druids, as Indian tribes have had their medicine-men.

In the above paragraph it has been to some extent assumed that the mention in the *Annals* of *druidae* in Anglesey has some bearing upon the general question of British druids. But when we consider the silence of Tacitus and the other writers regarding British druids, we are led to suspect that the *druidae* of *Ann.*, XIV. 30, are out of all relation to the actual British world, being the peculiar denizens of a half unreal, sacred island. Nowhere else does Tacitus show any acquaintance with a British term "druid". The description of the Anglesey *druidae* in *Ann.*, XIV. 30, is abruptly isolated from the rest of the narrative. Even if the passage is historically accurate, it does not say anything of British druids.

To estimate the historical value of *Ann.*, XIV. 30, we should compare not only *Ann.*, XIV. 29, and *Agric.*, 14, 15, and 18, where no reference is made to the sacred character of Anglesey, but also Dio's account⁶¹ of the expedition of Paulinus. Dio seems to know nothing of the druids and altars. He tells how the revolt of the Britons took place while "Paulinus the governor was on an expedition to a certain island Mona, situated close to Britain." This is cruelly prosaic. And yet Dio was not the man to miss a chance for lively writing, provided it were at all compatible with what he deemed to be historical accuracy. Moreover, Dio seems to have used for the reign of Nero the same sources as Tacitus, if not Tacitus himself.⁶² But by this time the nearer islands of the Atlantic had evidently ceased to be fair game except for the most careless falsifiers and miracle-mongers. "Mona long covered with a mist—Mona, once hid from those who search the main".⁶³ But Anglesey had now emerged from the shadow of fable. Its people or priests could not in the third century, however it might be in the first or in the sixth and following, be painted at all conscientiously in the same magic light which transfigures in old story the Cassiterides, Thule, and other islands sacred to superstition.

But apart from the suspicious isolation of *Ann.*, XIV. 30, its own inner character,⁶⁴ the strong flavor of rhetoric, the suddenness with which the druids are introduced and then dropped, and the reminiscent quality of certain features⁶⁵ tell against its historical

⁶¹ LXII. 7-8.

⁶² Haupt, in *Philologus* (1885), pp. 145, 150, 161.

⁶³ Collins, *Ode to Liberty*.

⁶⁴ Cf. Mahaffy's editorial note to *Duruy*, IV. 498.

⁶⁵ Cf. Furneaux, *ad. loc.*

value. In the "women dressed in funereal black, looking like the Furies", there is a damning echo of Strabo's account of the Iberian Cassiterides.⁶⁶ The "black" or "sable garb of woe" seems to be heterodox so far as Druidism might be concerned,⁶⁷ but the writer follows Strabo not wisely but too well.⁶⁸ The sentence "nam cruore", etc., is a bald paraphrase from a passage in Diodor. Sic., V. 31. We seem to be reminded also of Lucan, bk. III., ll. 429 ff. May then the writer of this chapter, understanding that Anglesey was a sort of sacred island,⁶⁹ have put together passages of the old romancers, with an additional touch in the druids and their ways derived from Diodorus and Lucan, and from a hazy identification with the magician caste of Gaul, to draw his picture of a mock-supernatural, druidic scene?

One might be tempted to believe that Tacitus is not responsible for all of this chapter. Perhaps the *druidae* are too suddenly introduced: we have no hint in the preceding chapter 29 or anywhere else of the sacred character of Anglesey. Especially the trite phrase "Praesidium impositum" savors of the interpolator. It is out of joint with what follows, and is not altogether reconcilable with *Agric.*, 18. 4, "a cuius possessione revocatum Paulinum". Pfizner's reference on this point to *Ann.*, XIV. 35, does not seem quite relevant.⁷⁰ The British insurrection could hardly permit Paulinus to leave men in Anglesey.⁷¹ Also the passage in Jordanis⁷² cited by Mr. Furneaux may seem to cast a shadow upon the genuineness of *Ann.*, XIV. 30: Jordanis quotes Tacitus not for "Memma's" being a sacred isle, but "metallis plurimis copiosam".⁷³ However, as Tacitus is not very accurate in military details, and as he shows generally a *penchant* towards detail-painting in vivid colors,⁷⁴ it is far from safe, in spite of misgivings, to assume interpolation.

⁶⁶ "μελάγχρουτοι . . . ποταίς".

⁶⁷ Pliny, XVI. 95.

⁶⁸ For confusion of the fictitious Cassiterides with the British Isles, see *Edinburgh Review* (1882), p. 400. Cf. Jord., *De Rebus Get.*, II., and Strabo "Κατα το βρετανικόν πωζ κλίμα ἰδρυμένα". There was a notion of sorcery about the Cassiterides.

⁶⁹ Cf. Tac., *Germ.*, 40. See also the citation from Plutarch's *De Def. Orac.*, and *De Facie in Orbe Lunae*, p. 28 above.

⁷⁰ Bernard Henderson, *Nero*, p. 207, explains the difficulty in a way more ingenious than convincing.

⁷¹ Duruy revels in the imaginary holiness of Mona, but omits instinctively this garrison detail.

⁷² *De Reb. Get.*, II.

⁷³ This phrase suggests again the Cassiterides, and it is possible that Tacitus himself might have had the Cassiterides and Mona confused.

⁷⁴ Peter, *Litteraturgeschichte*, II. 317, n. 3, quoting Ranke.

But shall we now on the strength of this suspicious passage, which, even if free from error, proves only that there was a sort of *druidae* in ancient Anglesey, and on the strength of the Gallic legend told to Caesar, for which he himself as well as later writers showed small concern, and in spite of the general testimony which indicates Druidism to have been a peculiarity of Gaul, believe nevertheless that there was a British order of druids, that it was united with the Gallic druids in a pan-Celtic system, that the Gallic druids were a mere branch of a "grand lodge" in Britain, and that this pan-Celtic religion determined the Roman invasion and annexation of the island? With the writer in the *Edinburgh Review*⁷⁵ and with M. Reinach⁷⁶ we may discard the political significance of Druidism and with it the theory put forward by some admirers of Roman imperialism to justify the blunder of half-imbecile Claudius in locking up 60,000 soldiers in Britain.

A pan-Celtic Druidism is very difficult to imagine. The testimony of antiquity, which knew neither a Celtic nation nor a Celtic religion, is against an hypothesis that would place the high-seat of Druidism in Britain. The Roman writers show no knowledge even of the British king or sorcerer druids, if such were.⁷⁷ The isolation of Britain is a commonplace of the ancient writers, and has been fully set forth by Freeman in his essay *Alter Orbis*. The Gallic soldiers of Aulus Plautius mutinied when ordered to Britain, not because they were going against brother Celts or co-religionists, but because they were to be banished, as it were, off the earth.⁷⁸ Not everyone, therefore, will accept the theory that there existed two thousand years ago a national feeling and a national religion holding Britain and Gaul so closely together as to render the conquest of the Continental Celts insecure⁷⁹ without the subjugation of Britain.

But, some will say, a parallel, independent British Druidism, which Professor Rhys claims rather wistfully for certain restricted parts of Britain, or at least the existence at one time of some sort of druids in the Celtic islands, may seem to be established by the voice of tradition if not of ancient literature. Professor O'Curry,

⁷⁵ October, 1900, p. 439.

⁷⁶ *Revue Celtique*, XIII, 194.

⁷⁷ Dottin, *L'Antiquité Celtique*, p. 270, "We have no ancient information on the Druidism of Britain." Yet Dottin is one of the believers, in a mild way.

⁷⁸ Dio, LX, 19.

⁷⁹ Indeed Gaul was well in hand by 43 A. D. For the condition of northern Gaul before that, see Jung, *Romanische Landschaften*, p. 200; Strabo, IV, 1, 2, and IV, 4, 2, cited by Arnold in his *Later Roman Commonwealth*, p. 491; and Tacitus, *Ann.*, XI, 18, "dites et inbelles".

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however, says that "our traditions of the Scottish and Irish druids are evidently derived from a time when Christianity had long been established." One early document, no less a paper than the *Confessio* of St. Patrick himself, though narrating his conversion of Ireland, particularly in chapter 18, has nothing to say of either druids or magi. The crazy legends of Celtic Britain, whose historical worthlessness is recognized by Dottin,⁸⁰ furnish too flimsy a basis for history. Dr. Joyce⁸¹ agrees with Professor O'Curry. No Erse manuscript is earlier than about 1100 A. D., while the Latin hagiology is not explicit as to any contact between missionaries and druids; the magi spoken of were not necessarily even called druids.⁸² The *Life* of St. Columba, for example, tells of a magus called Broichan and of other magi, but not of any druids, though Dr. Fowler takes it for granted in his edition that every time "magus" is written in the text, it means "druid". It is needless to add that the "tradition" connecting Stonehenge with Druidism is the successor of an earlier, wholly different tradition.⁸³ No ancient or early medieval writer connects the stone circles with Druidism.

"Nennius", describing himself as a Briton,⁸⁴ knows no druids. In his enthusiastic account of the conversion of Ireland, there is no mention of them. What do those who rely on Celtic tradition make of Geoffrey of Monmouth? A Welshman of the twelfth century, who knew not the druids! Geoffrey can tell, however, of one king-sorcerer, good old King Bladud.⁸⁵ Layamon and Robert of Gloucester repeated the story, like all else, after Geoffrey. But not one of the three was aware of the simple fact that Bladud was a druid! Geoffrey, Layamon, and Robert of Gloucester show us the Britons thanking their gods for victory,⁸⁶ and Geoffrey says that when Christianity came in under Lucius, the "flamens" and "arch-flamens" became bishops and arch-bishops.⁸⁷ But where were the druids turning monks, as Bertrand and others imagine? Geoffrey, Layamon, and the rest were all interested in religious matters and in things Celtic, but they are shamefully, shamelessly ignorant of Druidism and druids. The magi whom Vortigern con-

⁸⁰ *L'Antiquité Celtique*, pp. 2-4.

⁸¹ *Social History of Ireland*, I. 219.

⁸² See the citation from Whitley Stokes, page 35, note 93.

⁸³ See Geoffrey of Monmouth, VIII. 10 ff. and XI. 4; Layamon, *Brut*, II. 17156 ff.; Robert of Gloucester, II. 3109 ff.

⁸⁴ He claims also to use not only Latin chronicles, but the traditions of ancestors, and British and Scottish histories (ch. 1.). Gildas and Bede say nothing of druids.

⁸⁵ II. 10.

⁸⁶ *Historia Britonum*, IV. 8; *Brut*, II. 8071 ff.; *Chronicle*, 1208.

⁸⁷ IV. 19.

sults are not introduced as survivors or heirs of that glorious band which modern fancy has enthroned in ancient British oak groves; Layamon calls them "witien, world-wise monne, the wisdom cuthen"⁸⁸ or men who "cuthen of tho crafte the wuneth i than lufte" (astrologers).⁸⁹ Robert says simply "enchantors".⁹⁰ The astrologers of King Arthur⁹¹ become in Layamon's more pious narrative tolerably Christianized:

Canunes ther weoren,
the cuth weoren widen,
ther wes moni god clare,
the wel cuthe a leore.
Muchel heo ferden mid than crafte,
to lokien in than leofte,
to lokien i than steorren,
nehhe and feorren.
The craft is ihate
Astronomie.

Robert leaves them out for some reason. Hunt as we may, we find no druids in these Celtic pages. The "voice of tradition" is a very modern voice.⁹²

It would appear, in fact, that in the Dark Ages, or rather later, certain Welsh and Irish "doctors" and fablers developed views of their sorcerers or medicine-men⁹³ based on "a little learning" in

⁸⁸ *Brut*, ll. 15495 ff.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, l. 15750.

⁹⁰ *L.*, 2711.

⁹¹ Geoffrey, *Hist. Brit.*, IX, 12.

⁹² Dating in England from Richard of Cirencester? I find nothing said of druids by William of Malmesbury nor by Henry of Huntingdon. Henry says (bk. I.) that nobody knows how the stones came to be set up at Stonehenge nor why. He gives a somewhat detailed account of Ireland; is certain that the Scots came from Spain to Ireland. Forester editorially (p. 19, note 2) laments Henry's ignorance, e. g., of the fact that "Paulinus reduced Mona and exterminated the Druids."

⁹³ See the distinctions drawn by Joyce (I, 239): Irish druids merely wizards and learned men, not priests like those of Gaul; they did not practice human sacrifice. Cf. p. 25, note 20, above. Dottin (p. 275) says: "It is improbable that the (Gallic) druids of Caesar's time were like their Irish confrères [I object to this word] only sorcerers and wonder-workers." On page 286 he says that in Ireland there was no hierarchy; contrast with this the Gallic hierarchy (p. 289). Whitley Stokes (*Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, p. clix): "There is nothing to show that in Ireland the druids constituted a hierarchy or a separate caste, as they are said to have done in Gaul and Britain. They seem simply to have been one species of the wizards, sorcerers or enchanters variously named in Irish *drui*, *maithmain*, *tinchtitlidi*, and in the Latin of the Book of Armagh *sciri*, *magi*," etc. In his edition of Adamnan's *Columba*, Dr. Fowler doubts (p. xx) that the druids of Ireland were "a distinct order". As for Wales, Professor Rhys says: "There is no proof of any formal connection between the Druidic priesthood and the bardic system as it appears in Wales in the 12th Century." *The Welsh People*, p. 255.

Caesar and Pliny and generally in the Latin literature on Gallic Druidism; possibly they were pushed on by a natural confusion of the home druids—if that *was* originally the insular sorcerers' name—with the great Gallic hierarchy; given an inch, as it seemed, by Caesar and more doubtfully by Pliny, they took a mile. As the scene of the Arthurian legends was sometimes shifted in French romance from Britain to Brittany, so very probably Druidism has been gradually transplanted from ancient Gaul to ancient Britain. We may compare also the Welsh and Irish traditions of Iberian origins based on Roman geography and on such speculations as those of Tacitus on the Silures.⁹⁴ Just as Christ, the saints, Achilles, and other heroes of classical antiquity mingle in the fantastic Irish sagas with the native kinglings, so it is probable that Celtic learning and fancy co-operating made Druidism their own. This is no isolated phenomenon in the realm of semi-barbaric literature.

We find, then, no sure proof from any quarter⁹⁵ that Druidism in the proper sense of the word or even druids ever existed in Britain. There is much reason to believe the contrary. Until there appears some real evidence that a druidic hierarchy or caste and a druidic speculative philosophy or magic did prevail in Britain, and that the Romans knew of it, one may neglect, like Mr. Pelham and Mr. Furneaux, a defense of the Claudian policy based on an improbable supposition.

W. F. TAMBLYN.

⁹⁴ *Quarterly Review*, April, 1885, p. 441. See page 35, n. 92, above; also Geoffrey of Monmouth; Layamon, ll. 6207 ff.; Robert of Gloucester, l. 1001.

⁹⁵ Brehon law proves nothing. The triple organization of the Irish learned class cannot be shown to antedate the sixth century, the age of Latin learning.

THE CHARACTER AND ANTECEDENTS OF THE CHARTER OF LIBERTIES OF HENRY I.

IN the study of history a question of origins may be attractive but not necessarily of any especial consequence. The importance of the study of the genesis of Henry's Charter of 1100 lies in the fact that it served as the model after which the barons consciously formulated their Bill of Rights against King John in 1215, whence the Magna Carta and the subsequent "charters of liberties". In that long and weighty series of English constitutional documents it stands forth as the earliest extant, and in studying its character and antecedents we are engaged in a problem of distinct historical value. The origin and nature of the Charter was briefly discussed by the late Bishop Stubbs about a generation ago, but his conclusions appear upon a re-examination of the evidence to be untenable.

This Charter of 1100, it will be recalled, was issued by Henry I. after a hurried coronation, and was designed to gain support from among those who might otherwise have preferred to see his elder brother Robert on the throne. Bishop Stubbs held that Henry's Charter is in form an amplification of the (Saxon) coronation oath which he had taken, that it is a deliberate expression of that oath, that it marks a promised return to national government.¹

¹ "It is in form an amplification of his Coronation Oath, the exact words of which are still preserved, and agree with the ancient form used at the coronation of Ethelred:—

"In Christi nomine promitto haec tria populo Christiano mihi subdito. In primis me praeceptum et opem pro viribus impensurum ut ecclesia Dei et omnis populus Christianus veram pacem nostro arbitrio in omni tempore servet; aliud ut rapacitates et omnes iniquitates omnibus gradibus interdiciam; tertium ut in omnibus judiciis aequitatem et misericordiam praecipiam, ut mihi et vobis indulgeat Suam misericordiam clemens et misericors Deus."

"It is thus a deliberate expression of the articles of the covenant made by the king with his people, in consideration of which he receives the threefold sanction of election by the nation, unction and coronation by the Church, and homage from the feudal vassals. Further, it is a deliberate limitation of the power which had been exercised by William the Conqueror and William Rufus, a renunciation of the evil customs introduced by the latter, and a restoration of the ancient customs of the nation; and in this aspect, it is a recognition of the lawful freedom of the nation, which those evil customs had infringed, and which was regarded as symbolised by the laws of Edward the Confessor. Further, it is an exemplification of the evil customs themselves; and historically marks the amount of departure from free and national government which had prevailed in the late reign." Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 99. Cf. Hannis Taylor, *English*

On the contrary I hope to show, taking these propositions in reverse order, that the Charter promised a regulated feudal government and a return to the law as it stood at the death of William I.; that it is not the deliberate expression of the Saxon oath, which would make it out a product of Saxon institutions, but rather the deliberate expression of the additions to that oath which Henry made according to the precedents of his Norman predecessors; and finally, that in form it is not an amplification of the Saxon oath but was probably derived (through one or more similar charters) from some borough charter. My thesis may be more compactly expressed thus: The Charter is a product of Anglo-Norman conditions and faithfully portrays Anglo-Norman ideals of government.

I.

First, the Charter promised a regulated feudal government and a return to the law as it stood at the death of William I.²

If we examine the Charter³ to ascertain what portions of it may fairly be said to have been written from the feudal point of view, we find that it falls into two unequal portions, and that all of the first eleven chapters are in this sense rightfully to be classed as feudal. It is not meant by this classification to intimate that these chapters of the Charter do not have non-feudal bearings, but that each is aimed at some encroachment upon the rights of the feudal lords. Most of the chapters exhibiting the accustomed characteristics of feudalism are obviously so; but chapters I., v., and ix. present special features which might arouse question. In these, however, the usual emphasis needs merely to be shifted to make the interests of the feudal lords apparent.

Chapter i. recalls to mind the well-known statement of Stubbs that "Ranulf Flambard saw no other difference between an ecclesiastical and a lay fief than the superior facilities which the first gave for extortion."⁴ It is not needful here to discuss the exact forms of extortion which are henceforth forbidden, it suffices to note that they are of a distinctly feudal nature, based upon the assimilation of the treatment of ecclesiastical fiefs to that of lay fiefs.⁵

Chapter v., relating to *monetagium*, was, if DuCange is correct, *Constitution*, I. 272-273; McKechnie, *Magna Carta*, pp. 116-119. For the critical edition of the ancient coronation oath, see Liebermann, *Gesetze*, I. 214-217.

² The brief analysis to follow has much in common with the view expressed in 1877 by Prothero in his *Simon de Montfort*, pp. 16-17.

³ Liebermann, *Gesetze*, I. 521-523.

⁴ Stubbs, *Constitutional History* (4th ed., 1883), I. 325.

⁵ Cf. Round, *Feudal England*, pp. 310-311; Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, II. 230, note 4; 141, note 4; 203, note 1; 205.

primarily a feudal custom of Normandy, which, upon being transferred to England, had been applied more broadly.⁶

In the case of the *murdrum*, to which chapter ix. relates, it is customary to consider that because this fine was originally intended to hold communities responsible for order within their boundaries, therefore its enforcement harmed the feudal lords only in so far as it lessened the paying power of their tenants. But in the first place it is to be noted that the fine was levied primarily upon the vill where the death occurred and the hundred incurred only a secondary liability. The incidence therefore was quite local. Next, forty-six marks was an overwhelming fine for such a small community, far more in fact than it proved practicable to collect. Most important of all, the lord of the manor had come to be responsible for the fine, in fact had to pay it out of his own resources so far as they went—so read the "Articles of William I." Lastly, as this fine could be easily imposed on technical grounds it became a ready means of extortion. Consequently, in close connection with chapter viii. in which the lords are promised that other fines shall be just, chapter ix. further promises them just murder-fines. The two chapters alike appeal to the feudal class.⁷ We may say then

* DuCange, *Glossarium*, IV. (Paris, 1845), p. 532: "Praestatio quae a tenentibus et vassallis domino fit tertio quoque anno, ea conditione ut monetam mutare ei non liceat, quae *Focagium* [et *Relevatio monetarum*] dicitur, obtinebatque potissimum in Normannia." For its meaning in England, cf. Liebermann, *Gesetze*, II. (Wörterbuch), p. 149: "Abgabe an den Münzherrn (König) seitens Stadt und Grafschaft, damit dieser nicht, das Gepräge ändernd und Vollwichtiges in neue, schlechtere Münze zu wechseln zwingend, sich auf Landeskosten bereichere."

⁷ *Leges Edwardi Confessoris*, 15, 2-4 (1115-1150 A. D.): "Quando aliquis alicubi *murdratus* reperiebatur. . . Et si non inveniebatur [i. e., interfectus], colligebantur in villa XLVI marce. Et si ad tante pecunie solutionem non sufficiebat, per hundredum colligebatur quod in villa non poterat. Sed quia villa omnino confundeatur, prouiderunt barones, quod per hundredum colligerentur," Liebermann, *Gesetze*, I. 641. *Willelmi I. Articuli*, X. 3 (c. 1110-1135 A. D.): "Uolo autem, ut omnes homines, quos mecum adduxi aut post me nenerunt, sint in pace mea et quiete. Et si quis de illis occisus fuerit, dominus eius habeat infra quinque dies homicidam eius, si potuerit; sin autem, incipiat persolvere mihi quadraginta sex marcas argenti, quamdiu substantia illius domini perdurauerit. Ubi uero substantia domini defecerit, totus hundredus, in quo occisio facta est, communiter persoluat quod remanet." *Ibid.*, I. 487. *Leges Henrici* (c. 1114-1118 A. D.), 91, 2, 2a, 3: "Si *murdrum* in domo uel in curia uel in claustrum inueniatur, cum ad premissam XL et VI marcarum reddicionem perueniatur, primo quicquid in ipso manerio est, in annona uiridi et sicca, in animalibus et in omnibus omnino, primo uendatur usque ad olera. Et si ad XL et VI marcas habundat, nichil aliunde exigitur: si quid uero defuerit, in hundredo communiter suppleatur. Si etiam manerium, in quo *murdrum* inueniatur, de dominio et firma regis sit, et rex ita preceperit, per totum hundredum inde componendum erit." *Ibid.*, I. 607. For recorded cases of *murdrum* (in 1202 and 1221), see Maitland, *Select Pleas of the Crown*, I, nos. 55, 127, 131, 134. In 1258 the barons at Oxford complain of the unjust enforcement of the *murdrum* in the case of strangers who

that the first portion of Henry's Charter is feudal law, and therefore not Anglo-Saxon but Norman.

The remaining, non-feudal portion of the Charter consists of the last three chapters, which by reason of their collocation may be considered to belong together unless some violence is thereby done to the sequence of ideas. Being regarded as a whole, however, they rather gain in significance; and appear to be devoted to the general topic of the re-establishment of the king's peace as quickly and as firmly as possible.⁸ Chapter XII. announces a firm peace to be maintained henceforth. Chapter XIII. answers the natural question: "What law is to obtain under which this peace is to be enforced?" For in such unsettled times, when the Conquest was still within the memory of the living, and the new king was more or less a usurper, there might be question as to whether Henry intended to enforce "the law of Edward the Confessor", or the said law with the modifications of William I., or with the additional modifications of William II. The preference of Henry is expressed for the law of his father's day. Chapter XIV. directs the restitution of property wrongfully taken during the interregnum when according to the Anglo-Norman, not the Saxon, doctrine the king's peace was non-existent.⁹

It would appear that the over-emphasis of this second portion of the Charter, and especially of the reference to "the law of Edward the Confessor", is chiefly responsible for the misapprehension of the purport of the Charter as a whole. Chapter XIII. touching the law looks back, so far as central institutions are concerned, only to the days of William I.¹⁰ The natural and reasonable view is to regard the Charter as feudal in spirit throughout, definitely feudal for the most part and for the rest in perfect harmony with feudalism.

died of hunger (§ 21). As to the fines actually collected, see L. O. Pike, *History of Crime in England*, I. 454.

⁸ Cf. Howard, *The King's Peace*, p. 26: "This new theory that the peace belonged to the king and not to the people, had a curious and disastrous consequence. After the Norman Conquest it was held by the lawyers that the reign of law ceased with the death or deposition of the sovereign. During each interregnum crime and violence and all forms of anarchy ran riot and there was no power to punish. The king was dead and the law died with him." Cf. Pollock and Maitland, *English Law*, II. 463-464, and note.

⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, I. 45. The robbery forbidden in section fourteen seems to have been the special temptation of an interregnum. Cf. *Chron. Ang.-S.*, ad ann. 1135 (Thorpe's trans., II. 229): "The king died. . . . Then there was tribulation soon in the land; for every man that could forthwith robbed another."

¹⁰ The law of Edward was of course to be established or re-established for local government and for all questions of law not governed or modified by feudal law.

II.

Second, if the Charter is the "deliberate expression" of any part of the coronation oath, it is not of the Saxon portion of it but of the additions to that oath which Henry made according to the precedents of his father and brother.

The promulgation of the Charter soon after Henry took the oath is suggestive of some relationship between the two. Bishop Stubbs assumes that Henry took the oath of Ethelred unamended.¹¹ But there is reason to believe that King Henry made various additions to this, and that in so doing he was following precedents set by his immediate predecessors.

William the Conqueror apparently swore to an irregular oath, or perhaps to the usual one with an important addition. The Worcester chronicler states: "Then on Midwinter's day, archbishop Ealdred hallowed him king at Westminster; and he pledged him on Christ's book, and also swore, before he would set the crown on his head, that he would govern this nation as well as any king before him had best done, if they would be faithful to him."¹²

In 1087, William Rufus appears likewise to have taken a special coronation oath. Eadmer, the confidant of Anselm, relates that William, being exceedingly anxious for the crown and in absolute need of the archbishop's support, made sweeping promises to Lanfranc: "... coepit tam per se quam et per omnes quos poterat fide sacramentoque Lanfranco promittere, justitiam misericordiam et aequitatem se per totum regnum si rex foret in omni negotio servaturum; pacem, libertatem et securitatem ecclesiarum contra omnes defensurum, necne praeceptis atque consiliis ejus per omnia et in omnibus obtemperaturum."¹³

¹¹ Cf. note 1, above.

¹² *Chron. Ang.-S.* (Thorpe), II. 169-170; Earle and Plummer, p. 200. Cf. Florence of Worcester: "... consecratus est honorifice, prius ut idem archipraesul ab eo exigebat, ante altare Sancti Petri Apostoli, coram clero et populo jurejurando promittens, se velle sanctas Dei ecclesias ac rectores illarum defendere, necnon et cunctum populum sibi subjectum juste et regali providentia regere, rectam legem statuere et tenere, rapinas injustaque judicia penitus interdicere." *Flor. Wig. Chronicon* (Eng. Hist. Soc.), I. 229. On this topic Freeman writes: "... the Duke took the oaths of an English King, the oaths to do justice and mercy to all within his realm, and a special oath, devised seemingly to meet the case of a foreign King, an oath that if his people proved loyal to him, he would rule them as well as the best of the Kings who had gone before him." *Norman Conquest*, III. 560.

¹³ Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* (Rolls Series), p. 25. Cf. Freeman, *William Rufus*, I. 16: "And, besides the prescribed oaths to do justice and mercy and to defend the rights of the Church, Lanfranc is said to have bound the new king by a special engagement to follow his own counsel in all things." *Ibid.*, II. 460: "... the new King's special oath, in which the formal words of the coronation bond seem to be mixed up with oaths and promises of a more general kind".

When we come to the coronation of Henry we also meet with evidence of additions to the old oath, as in the cases of his father and brother: "... and on the Sunday after, before the altar at Westminster, [he] promised to God and all the people to put down all the injustices that were in his brother's time; and to maintain the best laws that stood in any king's day before him. And then, after that, the bishop of London, Maurice, hallowed him king."¹⁴

It would appear then that the Anglo-Saxon coronation oath, so jealously guarded in the days of Dunstan,¹⁵ had been deemed insufficient at the coronation of William I., who had sworn to govern as well as any king before him; that the desire of William II. to secure the coronation had led him to include within the oath a special promise to heed the counsel of Lanfranc, and that owing to the grievous misrule of William Rufus, Henry had added to his oath the promise to put an end to his brother's injustice and to maintain the best laws that had existed in any previous reign. In short, the addition to the oath of special promises seems to have been a common feature of the coronation oath of the Norman sovereigns, who would hardly feel so bound to the ancient customs as their predecessors and consequently would be more prone to make such additions to the oath as might appear advantageous.

The relationship between the oath and the Charter now becomes clearer. We can readily see how the new part of Henry's oath, containing the promise "to put down all the injustices that were in his brother's time", definitely accounts for the first portion of the Charter. The occasion for the Charter, as expressed at the beginning, is "quia regnum oppressum erat iniustis exactionibus"; and the general statement is "sanctam Dei aeclesiam imprimis liberam facio . . . et omnes malas consuetudines, quibus regnum Angliae iniuste opprimebatur, inde aufero." The first evil custom

¹⁴ *Chron. Ang.-S.*, Peterborough, Thorpe, II. 204; text, Earle and Plummer, p. 236. Cf. Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia* (Roll Series), p. 233: "... melioratione legum et consuetudinum optabili repromissa". Eadmer (Rolls Series), p. 119 "... Henricus qui tunc noviter fratri defuncto in regnum successerat, in ipso suae consecrationis die bonas et sanctas omni populo leges se servaturum, et omnes oppressiones et iniquitates quae sub fratre suo emergerant in omni sua dominatione tam in ecclesiasticis quam in saecularibus negotiis prohibitorum et subversurum spononderat, et haec omnia iurisdictioni interjectione firmata, sub monumento litterarum sigilli sui testimonio roboratarum, per totum regnum divulgatum iri praeceperat." Cf. Freeman, *William Rufus*, II. 350-351: "The new king swore, as usual, to hold the best law that on any king's day before him stood; but he swore further to God and to all folk to put aside the unright that in his brother's time was."

¹⁵ "And he forbade him to give any pledge except this pledge which he laid up on Christ's altar, as the bishop directed." *Memorials of Dunstan* (Rolls Series), p. 355.

specifically forbidden (after the unjust exactions from the Church) is that of excessive reliefs, "sicut . . . tempore fratris mei". And this is the tone of the provisions, either by express declaration or by implication, throughout the first eleven chapters.

As for the second portion of the Charter, owing to the Anglo-Norman development of the idea of the king's peace, such provisions as those of chapters XII. and XIV. were needed in order to start the new reign, and would probably have been added had the Saxon portion of the oath been totally omitted.¹⁶ We have already seen how the erroneous view of the Charter as a whole was occasioned by reason of its employment of terms which have a ring of pre-Conquest times. Here again the same reason seems to have been responsible for the misconception of the relation of the Charter to the Saxon oath. The Saxon oath speaks of a "peace" and so does the Charter; therefore the Charter has been mistakenly regarded as being derived from Ethelred's oath. Again, the reference in the second portion of the Charter to the laws to be enforced is accounted for by Henry's addition to the oath wherein he had promised "the best laws that stood in any king's day before him", and is irrelevant to the promise of "justice and mercy in all judgments" contained in the Saxon oath.

The conclusion is then that the Charter has little or nothing to do with the oath of Ethelred, but is the direct outcome of the additions to that oath made by Henry.

III.

Third, in technical form the Charter is probably derived through one or more similar documents from some borough charter.

It has just been stated that Henry's Charter is the direct outcome of additions to the coronation oath. This is after all an explanation that does not satisfy; for whence came the original idea of granting general charters of liberties? The chroniclers suggest a precedent for the year 1093, and hint at a rudimentary charter in 1088; but even so, what suggested the idea in the first place? The recent work of the legal historians supplies the data from which may be drawn the probable solution of this problem—namely, that Henry's Charter is similar in type to the class of borough charters, from some one of which it may be supposed to have been ultimately derived. The evidence is as follows.

Only a few years before Henry's Charter, in 1093, when William Rufus supposed he was dying and so devoted himself to repentance,

¹⁶ Cf. the Proclamation of the King's Peace in 1272. Rymer, *Foedera* (folio ed., 1727), II. 1.

as Eadmer tells us, he caused his vow of reform to be placed upon the altar:¹⁷

Scribitur edictum regioque sigillo firmatur, quatinus captivi quicunque sunt in omni dominatione sua relaxentur, omnia debita irrevocabiliter remittantur, omnes offensiones antehac perpetratae indulta remissione perpetuae oblivioni tradantur. Promittuntur insuper omni populo bonae et sanctae leges, inviolabilis observatio juris, injuriarum gravis et quae deterreat caeteros examinatio.

Even before that, when the same king was fighting for his throne in the rebellion of 1088, he had been profuse in such promises to the English gentry who appear at first to have been reluctant to come to his aid. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* relates: "He then sent after Englishmen, and told them his need, and desired their support, and promised them the best laws that ever were before in this land; and every unjust impost he forbade, and granted to men their woods and liberty of the chase, but it stood no while."¹⁸ William of Malmesbury, in translating this, adds that he summoned the English "invitatoriis scriptis", but although the proclamation that summoned them may have been in written form, the accounts do not indicate that William's promises were enrolled in a charter.¹⁹

It is fairly certain then that Henry found a complete precedent for a written charter issued to the whole kingdom in the formal edict of 1093. In the promises of 1088 the evidence is lacking of their promulgation in written form, yet they are noteworthy in connection

¹⁷ *Hist. Nov.*, pp. 31-32. Cf. Pollock and Maitland, *English Law*, I. 94-95: "It seems probable that Rufus set the example of granting charters of liberties to the people at large. In 1093, sick and in terror of death, he set his seal to some document that has not come down to us. Captives were to be released, debts forgiven, good and holy laws maintained." Cf. Freeman, *William Rufus*, I. 393-394.

¹⁸ *Chron. Ang.-S.*, Peterborough, Thorpe, II. 192; text, Earle and Plummer, p. 223. Cf. Freeman, *William Rufus*, I. 63-64, and notes.

¹⁹ Cf. Freeman, *ibid.*: "A written proclamation went forth in the name of King William, addressed, doubtless in their own ancient tongue, to the sons of the soil, the men of English kin." And in a note, p. 64: "Does the precious document spoken of by William of Malmesbury still lurk in any manuscript store?" Freeman rather intimates that the promises were in the proclamation, but the evidence is against it. William of Malmesbury, who is the only one to mention the "written invitations", assumes an interval between the summons and the promises: "Anglos probos et fortes viros, qui adhuc residui erant, invitatoriis scriptis accersit; quibus super injuriis suis querimoniam faciens, bonasque leges, et tributorum levamen, liberasque venationes pollicens, fidelitati suae obligavit." *Gesta Regum* (Rolls Series), II. 361. Cf. Simeon of Durham, *Historia Regum* (Rolls Series), II. 215: "... rex fecit convocare Anglos, et ostendit eis traditionem Normanorum, et rogavit ut sibi auxilio essent, eo tenore, ut si in hac necessitate sibi fideles existerent, meliorem legem quam vellent eligere eis concederet, et omnem injustum scottum interdixit, et concessit omnibus silvas suas et venationem."

with Henry's Charter for being of universal application, at least to the loyal portion of the realm.²⁰

At this point, when the chroniclers fail us, the reasoning of Professor Maitland relative to the Magna Carta becomes of importance. To him the Magna Carta is "in form just like an ordinary borough charter. . . . It may be replied that Magna Carta, whatever its form may be, is in substance no deed of grant but a great code of laws. That is very true, but the fact remains that the form of this solemn instrument is that of a deed of grant. That was the form which to the prelates, clerks and lawyers of the time seemed the most apt for the purpose. The king was to grant liberties to the men of England as he had granted them to the men of Cornwall and the men of London."²¹ As Henry's Charter is essentially similar to the Magna Carta, though less highly developed, it may be likewise termed "a deed of grant"; so that it is extremely likely that the legal model of Henry's Charter, brought down through one or more preceding exemplars, was some borough charter. May it not be that the famous charter granted to London by William I., at some time between 1066 and 1075, is the model which was followed in the days of William Rufus and then of Henry?²²

William, king, greets William, bishop, and Gosfrith, portreeve, and all the burghers within London, French and English, friendly; and I do you to wit that I will that ye two be worthy of all the laws that ye were worthy of in King Edward's day. And I will that every child be his father's heir, after his father's day. And I will not endure that any man offer any wrong to you. God keep you.

This Charter of London, granted in Anglo-Norman days, is a closer parallel to Henry's Charter than is Ethelred's coronation oath.²³

²⁰ Incidentally we may note that William's promises of 1088 and 1093 form a progressive series with the coronation oaths and with Henry's Charter. The oath of William I. deals with the future alone. The oath of William II. is pervaded with an air of mistrust of the new king, with perhaps an admixture of dissatisfaction over some features of his father's rule. The declaration of 1088 acknowledges grievances which in part must have lasted over from the preceding reign. The charter of 1093 contritely acknowledges gross misgovernment in the past and repentantly offers promises of well-doing in the future. The oath of Henry, exemplified in his Charter, completes the increasing emphasis upon his brother's evil reign, laying bare in its provisions with still greater minuteness the possibilities of misrule so far developed under the despotic Norman sovereigns. The development to be traced in the series is continuous.

²¹ Pollock and Maitland, *English Law*, I, 658.

²² Translation from Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 83. This charter is critically edited in Liebermann, *Gesetze*, I, 486.

²³ The copies of Henry's Charter as sent out to the individual shires bear a still closer resemblance to the London Charter than the general form laid up in the archives at Winchester, *e. g.*, "Henricus rex Anglorum Samsoni episcopo et Ursoni de Abetot et omnibus baronibus et fidelibus suis tam Francigenis quam Angligenis de Wirecestrescira salutem." *Ibid.*, I, 521-523.

In this paper the writer has sought to establish the following propositions: first, that in character Henry's Charter was essentially feudal; second, that it resulted directly from the particular promises made by the king at his coronation; third, that the "charter of liberties" was evolved from the borough charter. In rejecting the hypothesis that the Charter of Henry was an amplification of the old Saxon coronation oath, he believes that he is amply justified by the unmistakably Norman character of the former document.

HENRY L. CANNON.

THE POLICY OF THE GERMAN HANSEATIC LEAGUE RESPECTING THE MERCANTILE MARINE¹

FROM the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries the north German towns in the long zone from Holland to Finland possessed the maritime government of the Baltic and the North Sea. They suppressed the formerly important navigation of the Scandinavians, pushed the old Russian sea-trade out of the Baltic and kept that of the Frisians, Dutch, and English within narrow limits during the same time, especially in the Baltic, the traffic of which they tried even to monopolize. They gained great privileges in England, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Russia, and these privileges formed the foundations of their position as the controlling agents of commerce and traffic in northern Europe. All the north German merchants and towns were interested in maintaining this position and united thereby into a close confederation. It was first in their factories abroad that the merchants of the different German towns formed a union as to commercial policy against the foreign country. It was this association which then exerted a reactive influence on their own towns, inasmuch as during the fourteenth century it effected a sort of confederation of the north German towns themselves for the purpose of carrying out a common commercial and maritime policy abroad and for the common protection and maintenance of the commercial and maritime predominance already gained. This German Hanseatic League, a quite singular product of medieval history, comprehended in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries some seventy towns, including some that are within the present limits of the Netherlands and of Russia. For centuries it supplied the dismembered German Empire with a sea-power and gave it commercial predominance on the seas that wash the German coasts. The leading town of the confederation was Lubeck, a town which still surpasses almost all German towns in the number of its imposing public and private buildings, and in medieval times far outrivalled any other north German town in

¹ Paper read by Professor Ernst Daenell of the University of Kiel, at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Richmond, December 30, 1908. The author has made a more elaborate statement of the same matter in his work entitled *Die Blütezeit der Deutschen Hanse* (Berlin, two volumes, 1906), II. 334-389.

the extent and variety of its trade and navigation. Therefore Lubeck was best able to govern a society composed of so many members having so many different individual interests.

The efficacious protection of Hanseatic interests required an organization of the confederation, a constitution. And indeed a kind of constitution was not wanting, but it remained imperfect to a high degree because it was always dependent upon the good-will of every one of the members. But in spite of defective harmony and disobedience and internal strife this constitution rendered good service in the main during the flourishing period of the League. It gave the League a useful basis and kept alive the feeling of community among its members, and it rendered possible the formation and the carrying into effect of general principles as to the most important questions of trade and navigation. These policies had their origin in the same monopolistic spirit as the similar policies of the medieval and post-medieval commercial and sea powers. They were intended to check the rise of the sea-power and commerce of the rivals of the League and to assist the Hanseatic people in outstripping foreigners more effectively by means of general legislation. Among these means, however, the statutes relating to the navigation policy played the principal part because of the fact that by far the greater part of the Hanseatic commerce was by sea. Thus the protection and promotion of navigation was of the greatest importance and a preliminary condition to the carrying out and increase of the Hanseatic commerce.

The comparatively huge development of the Hanseatic sea-trade would have been impossible without a splendid Hanseatic merchant marine. Carrying trade for others and ship-building had to exist in the Hanse towns in order to give the Hanseatic sea-trade the necessary independence and liberty. The Hanseatic merchant marine was thus of the most important assistance to Hanseatic commerce. And therefore it cannot be wondered at, that the League itself and its single members took a special care to secure and increase their shipping at any cost, to regulate its relation to commerce, and to prevent foreign competition.

All Hanse towns, which claimed to be seaports, probably had a more or less lively ship-building industry and flourishing manufactures connected with it. Many names of old streets and localities in the German coast towns to-day remind us of the old occupations, as for instance "Ankerschmiedegasse", where anchors, "Reepschlägerstrasse" and "Reeperbahn", where ropes, were made, "Lastadie", the place of the wharfs, the single parts of which

were generally leased by the town council to the single ship-builders, furthermore the "Brakbank", where the ships were hauled and repaired, and so on. In contrast to the conditions existing to-day ship-building and everything connected with it flourished much more on the German Baltic shore than on the North Sea. The necessary raw materials, timber, and other products of forestry, such as tar and pitch from the neighboring large woods, iron from Sweden, copper from Hungary, and so on, could be obtained considerably cheaper and more easily in the Baltic towns, for geographical reasons. It therefore not infrequently happened that the carrying traders of the North Sea and of the non-Hanseatic towns in the further west tried to supply their need of ships by purchasing them in the Hanseatic Baltic towns.

The character of the then existing harbors from the Atlantic shores up to Russia did not encourage either the traffic or the building of greater ships. The harbors were shallow, even the most important and frequented ones being on an average not more than seven to twelve feet deep, and in spite of all attempts adequate engineering facilities were not discovered to remedy this defect and to prevent the frequent washing in of sand. The consequence was that heavily loaded ships were often compelled to lighten themselves by discharging a portion of their freight into boats, conditions which wasted time and money. A further consequence was that, from the fifteenth century on, efforts were made to adapt the size of the ships to the existing conditions of the harbors, that is to say, orders were published according to which no ships of more than a hundred *last*, that is about 200 to 250 modern tons, and of more than twelve feet draught, should be built. This gives an idea of the average size of Hanseatic vessels. They were, like medieval ships in general, very small according to our conceptions. Their principal types were the *Kogge* and the *Holk*, both broad and heavy vessels with one to three masts and with castle-like structures upon the prow and the stern. These like the top served military purposes; for warships as such were generally unknown. And every ship was always provided with sufficient weapons and ammunition as a defense against the piracy ceaselessly practiced along the coasts. In 1447 the Hanse required all its ships to be armed, and formulated fixed rules for the military equipment and the number of mariners. A ship of a hundred *last* had to carry weapons for twenty men, greater ones more, smaller ones fewer. And in order to secure its sea-traffic the Hanse proceeded further. From the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the Hanse had abandoned its former plan of

suppressing piracy by special military expeditions, the so-called "Friedeschiffe", it became more and more common for ships sailing in the same direction to unite in fleets, which were not seldom accompanied by convoying ships armed especially well. The Hanse supported this development by prescriptions, intended to regulate the sailing in fleets, and to compel them to remain united.

In spite of the small size of the ships it is a fact that most of the Hanseatic ships were not built by single persons, but by a number of persons on shares. The average amount of these shares varied greatly. Shares of $1/32$, even of $1/64$, occur. Shares in ships were used by the whole Hanseatic people, the upper as well as the lower classes, as a very favorite investment, which, however, was as risky as it was profitable; for marine insurance was then unknown. In consequence of this practice the whole population of the towns was especially interested in all questions of sea traffic and of the maintenance of as large a merchant marine as possible.

The Hanse also took an intense interest in the other most essential factor, that is, the crew of the ships. The demand that the Hanseatic ships be manned with natives was never raised. But certainly the employment of foreign mariners on Hanseatic ships was entirely exceptional. The Hanse, however, made it a special object of its care to regulate the relation between the captain and his crew by minute rules concerning the duties and rights of both parties. By other rules the Hanse secured the correct execution of the freight contracts entered into by the captains, the time of unloading the goods, certain freight claims of the captains, and so on.

Medieval navigation much more than that of the present was exposed to dangers of every kind. And from early times the Hanse towns considered it one of their principal tasks to procure as much security as possible for their shipping. Lighthouses had been constructed from the beginning of the thirteenth century at the most important points of the Hanseatic routes. The channels between the sea and the harbors were marked by buoys and other objects. Pilotage developed as a profession long before the Hanse, in 1447, made the use of pilots compulsory for its ships in entering and leaving the harbors. In 1448 Flanders published a number of rules which put the pilotage under governmental control. Marine charts were still unknown, but the compass was in use. And from the fourteenth century, in the so-called "Seebuch", the shipper possessed a work which informed him of tides, channels, harbors, location of the lighthouses and so on, from Russia down to Spain. The "Seebuch" did not originate all at one time but developed

gradually. The work may have had its origin in the old harbors of the coast of western France and was then worked over and enlarged in Flanders, the real centre of the medieval traffic of Europe. It shows some Hanseatic influence, especially with regard to the North Sea and Baltic coasts. The origin of the book was therefore entirely similar to that of the contemporary Hanseatic marine law.

By means of a large number of regulations the Hanse aimed at protecting the shipping of its people against the severities of the season and against losses; such orders as for instance the suspension of navigation during the winter months, that is to say, from November 11 to February 2, a suspension which the Hanse introduced about the end of the fourteenth century, after the model of older corresponding regulations and customs of its most important single members; or orders intended to induce the Hanseatic ship-builders to construct seaworthy ships; or to prevent ships from being overloaded by the establishment of a distinct draught line such as existed for Venetian vessels by governmental order. Add to these a great quantity of orders, which required that the captains and their crews assist imperilled or wrecked ships, and other orders, which concerned jettison, plundering of ships by pirates, and the right of salvage. Most of these were not older than the fifteenth century.

Furthermore it is clear that in the decades after 1350 the Hanse after having definitely formed its great union also developed distinct politico-economic policies with reference to the general merchant marine in northern Europe. These policies of course were animated by the same monopolistic spirit that determined the similar policies of other medieval and post-medieval sea-powers. They aimed at maintaining the conditions which had been secured about the middle of the fourteenth century, that is to say, the total or at least very thorough exclusion of non-Hanseatic shipping from the North Sea and the Baltic by means of general legislation against foreigners to the advantage of Hanseatic merchant marine. The non-Hanseatic peoples, especially the Dutch and Flemings, were compelled to agree to the same suspension of shipping in the winter within the Hanseatic districts which the Hanse itself practiced. During the fifteenth century the Hanse made great endeavors to gain the consent of its members to a general interdiction of selling Hanseatic ships to foreigners, of constructing ships upon Hanseatic wharfs for the benefit of foreigners, and of allowing foreigners to participate in the Hanseatic carrying trade. But these attempts met

with only partial success, especially in Danzig and the Prussian towns.

These various plans of the Hanse to oppress foreign shipping on its own account and not because of the trade connected with it were supplemented by those intended to do away with shipping in foreign bottoms by Hanseatic merchants. The former plans aimed at opposing as much as possible the increase of the foreign merchant marine, the latter at preventing the foreign carrying trade from making a profit out of Hanseatic commerce and at compelling the Hanseatic people to use Hanseatic ships exclusively, that is to say, the Hanse tried to maintain the conditions which had existed about 1350.

After the beginning of the fifteenth century the Hanse began its attack upon the increasing shipping of Hanseatic goods in foreign bottoms, a practice which promoted the encroachment of foreign shipping upon the North Sea and the Baltic and the Hanse towns, and in addition to this also attracted foreign commerce thither very largely. The Flemings and especially the Dutch had to suffer from this policy. But it met with opposition in the eastern as well as in the western groups of the Hanse towns. They wished to maintain a greater liberty of commerce, for by the elimination of foreigners they were threatened with becoming totally dependent on the carrying trade of the central group of the Hanse, the so-called Wendish towns, with Lubeck at their head, which represented the Hanseatic policy in its broadest sense. In spite of this, these central towns did not falter in their policy. The great meeting of the Hanse towns in 1470 tried to carry it out more fully by controlling the Hanseatic traffic in staples between the Baltic and Bruges by fixed regulations, which bound it to go via Lubeck and Hamburg, and by the ships, which both of these towns had to keep ready for this purpose. On the other hand, the employing of the ships of the Dutch, the most dangerous maritime competitors of the Hanse from the fifteenth century, was forbidden with special emphasis. But in spite of these measures the Hanse was not successful in preventing the frequent disobedience of its members to those orders.

The general prohibitions, which the Hanse put into effect somewhat tardily and hesitatingly, undoubtedly answered their purpose to a certain degree. They assisted in obstructing the traffic of foreigners in the trade district of the Hanse by checking the expansion of their share in Hanseatic freight business. Thus they were of advantage also to the carrying trade of the Hanse and might have offered a compensation also to the Hanseatic ship-building industry

for the prohibition to sell ships to foreigners. Thus the mercantile marine policy of the Hanse toward foreigners consisted in the demand for suspending navigation during the winter months, in suppressing the participation of the capital of foreigners in the Hanseatic carrying trade, and in forbidding ship-building in Hanse towns for the benefit of foreigners, the sale of Hanseatic ships to them, and the shipping of Hanseatic goods in foreign bottoms.

If we state a general judgment, we may say that the various policies adopted by the Hanse in connection with the regulation of the merchant marine resulted in great and numerous advantages. It was successful in promoting and securing by all possible means the presence of its ships on the seas and in foreign countries. It greatly improved the conditions of navigation by extending its care to the ship itself, to the crew, and to many other matters of a technical kind. The Hanse made effective efforts to prevent its merchant marine from being damaged by foreign competition, by means of a great and well constructed system of regulations, supporting one another. All this was possible so long as the Hanse was a power, economically and politically superior and courted by the surrounding powers, which were rivals of one another. The consequence of the administration and legislation of the Hanse was, that toward the close of the Middle Ages the various questions relating to the merchant marine were invariably regulated so as to be uniform for the whole Hanseatic trade district of the North Sea and the Baltic. This system was a substitute for the maritime laws, which the German Empire lacked. It was intended to give to the whole of the north German towns and merchants that inward stability, and to assure them of those economic advantages, which the legislation of foreign countries then endeavored to offer their own subjects. And, in the main, this system served very well for centuries, until in the sixteenth century the Hanse itself met with destruction at the hands of its rivals, whom it had been able to keep down for one or two centuries in its traffic districts by means of its system of regulating the merchant marine.

ERNST DAENELL.

THE SHARE OF AMERICA IN CIVILIZATION¹

Gentlemen of the University of Wisconsin:

Once going from Europe to Brazil, I heard at table an English writer, a great Eastern traveller, the late William Gifford Palgrave, ask the captain of the ship what good he thought had come from the discovery of America. For his part he could not see any, except for tobacco. That was the first time I heard that doubt expressed; but years afterwards I happened to buy an old French book, by an Abbé Genty, with this title: *L'Influence de la Découverte de l'Amérique sur le Bonheur du Genre-Humain*, and I saw that the curious question had been seriously proposed for a prize by the Academy of Lyons before the French Revolution.

This is how it was formulated: "Has the discovery of America been useful or prejudicial to mankind?" The work is, on the whole, an empty declamation, in which there is nothing to reap, except the hope of the writer in the regeneration of mankind through the new-born American nation. He foresees in the independence of the Anglo-Americans, to quote his words, "the event most proper to accelerate the revolution which will bring back happiness upon earth". "It is in the bosom of this new-born Republic", he adds, "that are deposited the true treasures which will enrich the world." That makes the book worth preserving. But 1787, when the essay was written, was too early a date to treat the subject of the contribution of the New World to the welfare of mankind. 1787 was already the dawn of America's day, but only the dawn. George Washington was President of the Constitutional Convention, but the influence of the great event, beyond its impact on the Old World, which had not yet produced the French Revolution, could not then be imagined.

There is in the life of the nations a period in which the role assigned to them has not yet been revealed. The character of the Roman influence could not be foretold even during the great days of the Republic. A talk between Cicero and Caesar about the part of Gaul or of Britain in history would not take into consideration France or England; while one between Charlemagne and Alcuin

¹ Baccalaureate address, Madison, June 20, 1909, by His Excellency the Brazilian Ambassador. Ed.

about the part of Germany would be only a tale of the Middle Ages, now nearly forgotten. Even to-day who could say anything essential regarding the part of Japan or of China? Japan can be said to be in her dawn for the outside world, while China continues veiled in her long night, shining for herself alone. Who can even imagine what will be the record of either in the history of mankind? But it is no longer too early to study the share of America in civilization. We do not know her possibilities in the future, as we do not know those of electricity; but we know already what electricity is, and so with your national individuality, we know already what it is. Nations reach at a certain time their full growth as individualities; you seem to have reached yours. We are therefore better prepared to speak of it than was the French abbé, on the eve of the French Revolution.

I had already chosen this fascinating subject when my attention was called to the admirable address of President Eliot on it, years ago, pointing out five great American contributions to civilization. These were, in his words: first, and principal, the substitution of discussion and arbitration for war as the means of settling disputes between nations; second, the widest religious toleration; third, manhood suffrage; fourth, the demonstration of the fitness of a great variety of races for political freedom; fifth, the diffusion of material well-being among the population.

I do not think all the points claimed as American contributions by President Eliot will bear in history the mark—*made in America*—but I think all of them have passed through such transformation and improvement here that they all deserve in part that mark.

Still, we must be as careful not to write the history of civilization without taking into account the rest of mankind as we should be not to write it without America. The American race is not a race born of a sudden in an advanced state of civilization. It was in the time of the country's formation the English race, only brought up in different surroundings; and now it is the product of the fusion, under its predominance, of that race with other races. Most probably the destiny of mankind would in the end be the same, if America had never appeared above the water; still, without it, much that has been already added to civilization would not yet exist, and perhaps never would, just as without a certain grouping of circumstances the artistic florescence of the Renaissance might never have bloomed.

When we look for what belongs properly to America we must not comprise in her part what belongs to the English race, nor, I

will add, to other races forming the American nationality, although in the leading part played by this country one cannot yet well discern the influence of any race but the one from which it originally proceeded. All that belongs to the natural evolution of the Anglo-Saxon civilization should not be ascribed to America only. A fruit is not special to a tree because it ripens earlier on it in some part of the world. Fruits really American are those which are only produced by American trees, whether in their own continent or transplanted abroad, although I would not hesitate to call American the fruits of those European trees which in their native soil are meagre and undeveloped and which acquire in the American soil a much stronger sap.

Having this in view, I would not, for instance, count manhood suffrage as an American contribution to civilization. It cannot be said that England, or the world, depended at all on the United States for the conception and the development of manhood suffrage. Universal suffrage is not even associated generally with America; it is rather associated with France. Nor would I count arbitration. I do not think arbitration was born in this country. Proselytizing for peace is more the interest of nations threatened by war than of one protected against it. In the last years there has been a strong peace movement in America, but it has followed the European peace movement. Europe, being the continent threatened by war, needs a greater activity for peace.

But President Eliot, in summing up his address, refers to that contribution in other words, as *peace keeping*. Expressed in that form, I have no doubt it has been one of your mightiest contributions to civilization, because the peace pressure from America on Europe is the greatest pressure weighing on the world to keep down war. America, thanks to the Monroe Doctrine, is the Continent of Peace, and this colossal peace unit, interesting deeply other regions of the earth—the whole Pacific, one might say—forms a neutral hemisphere and balances the other hemisphere, which we might call the belligerent hemisphere.

Still, we must remember that wars have generally come from obstacles to national aggrandizement, and that yours has never met with any serious obstacle. You are carrying out now, thanks to the confidence in your neutral character as well as to your prestige, a work that would be resisted, as one nation's concern, by the other sea-powers, if undertaken by any other nation. With your prodigious growth, your peace sentiment will have to be tested, when your national aggrandizement meets with the first serious obstacle.

The question is if you then would not proclaim the holy national war. As yet no one could say that peace is a permanent article of faith with you, such as are democracy and religious toleration, for instance. The great good fortune of mankind is that the period of your unopposed growth, permitting you to live in peace and to exercise your great moral and commercial pressure for peace, coincides with the time when the progress of civilization and probably that of science also will succeed in substituting international law for war, or in detaching war from international law, of which it still makes the principal part.

Allow me to say that I believe that nothing would do more to fix on the mind of this great nation the purpose of peace than Pan-Americanism. Once Pan-Americanism were made her determined foreign policy, as it has already been, with the Monroe Doctrine, a reflex movement of hers, not only would she wed herself to peace, but she would also wed to it the rest of the continent, and that task would fill the time still necessary for mankind to disavow war. Peace and Pan-Americanism are convertible terms for you and for us. But, as what gives the greatest strength to your power for peace is immigration, I would classify immigration as the greatest of all contributions of America to civilization.

Allow me a few remarks on this point. You are a nation in some respects of a unique type. The only one approaching that type was the Roman Empire, when near dissolution. Every other nation is, or was, composed of a race or of separate races, speaking each its own language; you are a nation formed by the fusion of races of different languages, brought, by superior inducements, to speak only the hereditary language of the country. In other words, you are a nation formed of nations by their own will. Here lies all the difference: you are formed by free immigration, not by conquest. America is really the New-Europe; but, while the old Europe maintains its race barriers by a different patriotism, different national traditions, and different languages, here in New-Europe all those same European races mingle, intermarry, lose memory of their old allegiances, change the old European soul for the new American one, and, as this fusion takes place in millions of people, you are a nation whose ethnical formula varies at every generation. The racial components of your nationality change so rapidly their relative proportions that one could never say how they really stand to each other. Fortunately, your national consciousness has not to adjust itself to the census; it does not wait for the analysis of the race; it contents itself with the unalterable synthesis, which is: *American*.

Strange to say, it is this ever-changing ethnical composition that keeps up your individuality, since this consists more than anything else of the spirit breathed on you at your creation, and the new accessions, wherever they hail from, assimilate eagerly and proudly that spirit as their chief birthright. With the constant influx of newcomers, the useless, inert or decayed, national residuum does not appear so much as it would if there were no new elements to make up for the waste. There is, indeed, in every society a sediment, formed of those parts in which the primitive national spirit has burnt itself out, at least partly, and which by themselves would not be fit to preserve and to continue the country's individuality. Any aristocracy in America would be a sediment of that kind. I do not mean that fine patina of time, which by figuration we call "aristocracy". In this sense time everywhere is naturally aristocratic.

There have been nations formed by conquest and composed also of different races, but among the latter particularism was always predominant, and they were kept indefinitely apart from each other. When the ancient world was reduced to Roman provinces, and after Caracalla had extended the right of citizenship to all the free inhabitants of the empire, the world saw a community in the style of yours, all its members claiming, through pride, the same nationality; but those were times of great dissension, and, besides, the fusion of the different races could not proceed so unimpeded as with you, owing to the many barriers of ancient local life.

This is the first and greatest influence I would point out of the discovery of America on civilization: the appearance on earth of an immense continent destined to be the new home of the old European races, where they would meet and mix and speak the same language, while in the native soil their old stocks would continue separated and up till now belligerent. In other words, a fact never seen or imagined before, of a mankind, a new mankind, formed by self-selection.

The American nation was created by the sentiment of country; it was devotion to the native country, together with the feeling of freedom and independence, that led the colonists to break their ties with the old mother-country. But American democracy, which from the beginning gave to the pride of country a greater force, has grown to its present size by voluntary change of their national allegiance on the part of millions. Choosing one's own country is a right that would not be generally acknowledged before this country created it and made it acceptable to the world.

Before the American spirit started immigration, the greatest human migration was the slave-trade, the covering of America by man-stealth with African slaves. The contrast between immigration and the slave-trade is enough to show what a regenerating part the American spirit has had in the march of civilization. No page certainly is more brilliant in the whole history of England than her fight against the African slave-trade, when America was willingly filling herself with those of the kidnapped negroes who were not thrown overboard; but, after all, what killed the slave-trade and slavery was immigration. Immigration, not slavery, represents the true American sap. Although Europe had nobly rid herself of slavery, thanks to Christianity, slavery was her colonial policy; in the New World slavery marked the period of European colonization and continued as a legacy from the colonial times after the Independence. Immigration, on the contrary, is characteristically American; the attraction of free, wide, and growing America on the dense human layers of Europe. That attraction broke in Europe the old stratifications; created centrifugal forces. For the first time in history, immigration gave men and women of all nationalities a chance of transplantation, of trying life in more favorable circumstances; it destroyed what remained of a dungeon-like character in the old national barriers, by making country a wholly voluntary allegiance; in a word, it upset forever the foundations of despotism, of practical serfdom, by rendering the people everywhere free to move away from it. I consider immigration the greatest force in modern civilization, and there is no doubt that it is an American force.

After immigration I would name democracy. Democracy is also distinctly American. Although an English growth in America, it is different from the European growth, and has long reacted against the monarchical spirit of the English race. American history is kingless, as European history is royal. The spirit of liberty, which was characteristically Anglo-Saxon, growing on a land without any monarchical tradition, took the form of democracy, or republic. Certainly there are elements fundamentally English in the American democracy, as there are others that are Greco-Latin. One cannot break the chain that binds through history the evolution of an idea or of a sentiment, but the American democracy is genuinely new, a new design; the ancients did not produce it, nor would Europe have produced it. So you can claim it for America as a contribution to civilization, not because the Republican government could be called a higher form of civilization than the mon-

archical Parliamentary government, but because, by its competition and by the silent lesson of immigration, it has exercised the most beneficent influence on the liberal evolution of the monarchical government in Europe. You can claim that you have transformed with your democracy not only the monarchical system of Europe, but her colonial methods of government as well. Democracy has a character of finality which monarchy has not, even expunged of all spirit of divine right, although the final form of democracy may yet be government by the best man, as was the Greek ideal.

Some maintain, like Professor Münsterberg in his criticism of President Eliot's address, that your democracy came from Europe, from the philosophy of the eighteenth century. But the inspiration of that philosophy, as far as liberty is concerned, went largely from the New World. Nothing more strongly influenced Jean Jacques Rousseau than the impression of the New World. The French utopists of the eighteenth century did not take much from the discovery of India, China, and Japan; but the discovery of America was a creative impression for them, as during three centuries it was for their predecessors. No less a mind than Montaigne, for instance, will say of the American natives, writing in the sixteenth century: "I regret that Lycurgus and Plato did not know them, as it seems to me that what we see by experience among those nations not only surpasses all the pictures with which poetry has embellished the Golden Age, and all its inventions in imagining a happy condition of men, but also the conception and even the wish of Philosophy. . . . How distant from this perfection would Plato find his Republic!"² The whole *Social Contract* of Rousseau is implicit in this chapter of the *Essays*, two centuries older. It is a permanent and growing impression of centuries that which the free-born New World produced on the European mind, only to be replaced by the other commanding, and also constantly growing, impression of the American democracy, after your independence. A book could be written on those two successive influences of the New World on the European imagination.

Another very great contribution which I would like to mention is the equality of social conditions among all classes of the nation. That is what most struck Alexis de Tocqueville. "When I survey", he wrote, "this countless multitude of beings shaped in each other's likeness, amidst whom nothing rises and nothing falls, the sight of such universal uniformity saddens and chills me." But this fragment does not do justice to his feelings, as he ends by

² *Liv.* I., ch. xxxi.

paying homage to the great principle of equality. The fact that Tocqueville ends his survey of America as he had begun it shows that the greatest impression produced on him was *the general equality of conditions*. That is the greatest impression it will produce on anyone. This is the explanation why it has become the adoptive country, the elected home of men of all races, born and reared under the contrary principle of inequality. Just as Asia had her castes, Europe had her orders or classes. In America there is not between the different calls of life any difference of level, and this simple idea, this true social egg of Columbus, has made the success of this nation, transforming it from a people of one single stem, as it began, into a people of many stems, all giving the same fruit. But equality did not make only the success of this nation; it fixed the final type of human society everywhere. Like immigration, like democracy, equality is final, and finality is in everything the greatest possible contribution to progress.

For many people the idea of civilization will always correspond to the greatest development of art. But from the aesthetic point of view, there is no such thing as progress in the modern world, because if some arts have advanced, others, on the contrary, have retroceded. To put it in one single remark, the many countries round the Mediterranean, the Ionian, and the Ægean seas must have all presented an incomparably more beautiful sight in the days of Hadrian, or of Constantine the Great, than in our days; in the same proportion, at least, as the Greece described by Pausanias to the Greece of Baedeker. You must not look for human progress in art. In art let us be retrogrades, of the times of Phidias, of Euainetos, of Vinci, of Beethoven. And as in art, so in poetry. Poetry will never more equal mythology. There is yet more poetry in the piece of land which the last earthquake of Messina has convulsed than in all the rest of the world, present or future. To renew the supply of poetry of the earth nothing less would be necessary than the communication with some other planet. That would indeed be a renewal of man's imagination, infinitely greater than was the very great one, of the discovery of America.

Yes, if I were asked of what good America was to Europe, I would say that Columbus cut large doors and windows on the west side of the old European manor-house, which received its ventilation only from the East. America has regenerated the Old World since the sixteenth century as effectually as the influx from Central Europe regenerated it in the Middle Ages. The pity was that the means of navigation were not greater in the time of the Roman Empire

and that the discovery was not made then, so as to have preserved the ancient civilization.

But with regard to art, there is no doubt that there is a distinct American trait. While the English is solid and the French graceful, yours is clean-cut. There is an American perfection, as characteristic as the Japanese, which I believe is well defined by the word "clean-cut".

Civilization should be essentially the improvement of the social condition of mankind, but we had better call civilization the increase of the intellectual power of man, as the increase of the intellectual power could alone lead to a permanently satisfactory social condition; that is, to a condition based on truth and entrusted entirely to freedom. I do not believe that America is yet leading in the increase of the intellectual power of man, that is, of science; but I believe that it is already leading in the improvement of man's social condition, I do not say alone, but with a few other nations, which look chiefly to you.

The idea of civilization has been up till now associated with individual initiative; in landed property, with the system of small estates, more than with the *latifundia*; in trade and industry, more with competition than with concentration. But there is evidently now in progress an evolution, in the sense of unification, that can be called American. Great nationalities, cosmopolitan trains, fast boats, aeroplanes, cables, wireless telegraph, Hague Conferences, all seem to announce that the new tendency of mankind, in every direction, is the "merger". In theory, centralization seems to assure the better service of so many millions of people, just as the cold storage assures their better feeding, by saving incalculable quantities of food which formerly would decay in the same day; but there are too many points to be considered in centralization, political and social, and only experience will shed any light over them. For the moment no one can say whether the new American political economy is or is not one of the great contributions of this country to civilization. The universities of America are watch-towers admirably prepared to follow the progress of the economical evolution and to solve in time the riddle of the Sphinx. One thing is sure: the age of Franklin will not end as the age of Midas.

How can one refrain from mentioning among your greatest contributions to mankind your system of education? The American education seems the only one that is not wholly conventional, that is not a pure galvanization of states of mind of other ages, of the ideals of men who feed their mind and their heart on books, instead of feeding them on the sights and wants of their own times. You

alone give, as the greatest of all human teachings, self-reliance. And, a boon new to mankind, you teach self-reliance not only to men, but to women. There never existed in the world such a youth of both sexes with the same training for life. You plunge them, from childhood, in a bath that gives to both the strength and the elasticity of steel. You have changed the rhythm of life; you write it in quick tempo, and the world is catching from you the spirit of rapid transformation, and is writing it also in the American *prestissimo* instead of the old *adagio*.

Among your great contributions to civilization President Eliot rightly counts your great inventions; still, as science is universal, inventions are generally suggestions from the work of other people, and those achieved by you would certainly have come out sooner or later with the progress of science. What has come from you, in opposition to the general modern tendency, is your respect for woman, the place you have made for her among mankind, together with the strong current of pure thought, which you oppose to the literature of sensualism flourishing among other races. Certainly asceticism, in the monastic times, and chivalry, in the Middle Ages, show well enough that Europe is capable of engendering the strongest currents of purity; even yours is probably only a survival of English Puritanism, kept alive under more favorable conditions; but, with regard to purity of thought towards woman, the present leadership of the world belongs indeed to America.

Gentlemen, I did not intend mentioning all the contributions of this country to civilization. Their complete cataloguing would be a most gigantic task; it would certainly comprise your great contributions to international law. I only meant to give you a few impressions on the usefulness of America beyond tobacco.

Here is how an English observer, who, with Alexis de Tocqueville, will remain one of the two classics of the nineteenth century on American democracy, the Right Honorable James Bryce, portrays the American people. I only put together the different features he has traced of you. According to him, you are a good-natured, a kindly, a humorous, a hopeful, an educated, a moral, and a well-conducted people; your average of temperance, chastity, truthfulness, and general probity is somewhat higher than in any of the great nations of Europe; you are a religious people; everything among you tends to make the individual independent and self-reliant; you are a busy people, and a commercial people; you are impressionable, capable of an ideality surpassing that of Englishmen or Frenchmen; you are an unsettled people, nobody feeling rooted to the soil, yet an associative and a sympathetic people; you

are a changeful people, but not a fickle one, only growing warm suddenly and cooling as suddenly; you are a conservative people, prosperity serving to make you more so.³ In a word, he says, summing up his whole work: "America marks the highest level not only of material well-being, but of intelligence and happiness, which the race has yet attained." I think such a portrait in the gallery of nations, even were some of its touches overflattering, which I do not think, is in itself a contribution to civilization. After it a remark seems necessary.

Until now no European race has given in America exactly the same intellectual fruit as in its native soil, just as the French grapevines transplanted here will never give the same exquisite wines. There is no sign that the intellectual hegemony is passing from Europe to America. Europe has not begun to decay, and we must remember that the forming of new ideals, like Christianity, for instance, was many times the work of ages of decay, just as with certain fruits is the spread of seeds. America could not carry out the same work as Europe. There is an intellectual geography as there is a botanical or a zoological geography. The intellectual qualities of each leading race are different, and it would diminish the power of effort in this country, were it ever to feel assured that it had surpassed Europe. There is inspiration in the hope, but the victory itself would be the beginning of retrocession. Mankind must remain greater than any of its parts in all that makes the glory of civilization, and the children should not surpass the fathers in their lifetime. For many centuries Europe and America will lead together.

Speaking of America, I have all the time taken the part for the whole and talked only of this country. It is rather early to speak of the part assigned in history to Latin America. We have not yet been ordered to enter the stage; the plays of God are very long ones; his acts are ages. Up to now we have done, however, a considerable work of civilization against great difficulties, and I believe that nowhere could be selected finer types of man and woman than among our different nations. We hope we do honor to our native stocks and that we show, compared to them, traits of the same evolution as you present compared to the English race. Many ideals in the world are, in part at least, sustained by our faith, without its ever being noticed, owing to our retiredness, but more than once there has been a surprise in the world, when men from Latin America came to the front, as in the last Council of the Vatican or in the Second Hague Conference, or as when Santos-

³ *American Commonwealth*, pt. IV., ch. LXXX.

Dumont, flying around Paris, opened the era of aerial navigation. Sometimes we appropriate the progress of civilization in a manner that they from whom it originated find too thorough for themselves. No constitution, for instance, except that of Brazil, provides that war shall only be authorized by the National Congress in case of arbitration being impossible⁴ and no other contains such an article as its article 88: "The United States of Brazil, in no case, will enter into a war of conquest, either directly or indirectly, either alone or allied to another Power." Similarly the abolition of war for debt will be in international law a laurel surrounding the name of the Argentine Republic. But we feel great pride in recognizing the sons of Washington as the molders of our American civilization.

Gentlemen, I thank President Van Hise for the very great honor of asking me to address your university, which stands in the front row of American universities. I take it as the best sign that the Continental feeling is already firmly rooted in this stronghold of American individuality.

JOAQUIM NABUCO.

⁴ Constitution of February 24, 1891, article 34, paragraph 11.

DOCUMENTS

Papers relating to Bourbon County, Georgia, 1785-1786, I.

CONCERNING the effort of the state of Georgia in 1785 to organize the territory around Natchez into a county to be called Bourbon not much has hitherto been known. The act establishing the county (February 7, 1785) was printed in Watkins's *Digest of the Laws of Georgia*, and something of the outcome was learned by Wailes,¹ Claiborne,² and Monette.³ Recently these facts with some additional material were incorporated in an article on Bourbon County in the cyclopedic publication, *Mississippi*, by Dr. Dunbar Rowland, but the documentary evidence in the case has for the most part remained unknown. In 1898 Mr. G. Cussachs brought before the Louisiana Historical Society a letter of Miró to the Georgia commissioners,⁴ but in the absence of other evidence Mr. Cussachs was led, as in some respects all the other writers have been, into some erroneous conclusions.

The documents pertaining to Bourbon County which are here printed have been assembled from several sources. Two years ago the writer came upon some of the correspondence in the archives of Georgia, and at about the same time Professor Herbert E. Bolton discovered in the Mexican archives a group of documents relating to the affair. Numerous letters have since been located in different archives in Spain,⁵ while a few have been found among the East Florida Papers in the Library of Congress. It is probable that still other material will yet come to light in the Spanish archives, since a number of letters known to have been written in connection with

¹ Wailes, "Historical Outline" in *Agriculture and Geology of Mississippi*, pp. 78, 83.

² Claiborne, *History of Mississippi as a Province and as a State*, pp. 155-156.

³ Monette, *History of the Mississippi Valley*, I, 469-470.

⁴ *Publications of the Louisiana Historical Society*, vol. II., part II. (1900), pp. 15-16. The letter is dated September 7, 1785.

⁵ A few, which were found and transcribed in the Archives of the Indies at Seville by those making searches there for the Department of Archives and History of the state of Mississippi, could not be found again when searches were made on behalf of this journal. For copies of these we are indebted to the courtesy of Dr. Dunbar Rowland, director of the department named.

the affair have not been found.⁶ Some of the missing documents will doubtless throw additional light on some phases of the episode, but those now printed, it is presumed, give the history of the affair with tolerable completeness.

The Bourbon County affair itself was a fiasco and, if judged only by its immediate results, may be regarded as of minor importance. Its chief interest lies in the fact that it was symptomatic of the whole period of fermentation caused by the obnoxious presence of the Spaniard in the Mississippi valley, and particularly by the closure of the Mississippi River to free navigation, and that it was one of the first chapters in the movement to push the Spaniard beyond the Mississippi—and farther. It appears, in fact, that there are direct lines of connection between the Natchez incident and the schemes which a few years later had their centre in Kentucky and have come to be known as the Spanish Conspiracy.⁷

The basis of Georgia's claim to the Natchez district was, briefly stated, that by virtue of the colonial charter her boundaries extended westward to the Mississippi, and by virtue of the definitive treaty of September 3, 1783, southward to the thirty-first parallel of latitude. Spain, on the other hand, claimed the territory north of this parallel, first of all by right of conquest and secondarily by virtue of the British cession. Great Britain had indeed ceded West Florida to Spain without designating the boundaries, but as the northern boundary of Florida during the last several years of British administration had been not the line of thirty-one degrees, but the line, approximately, of thirty-two and a half degrees, Spain naturally claimed the more northerly line as the true boundary of West Florida. Moreover, in the provisional treaty between Great Britain and the United States there was a secret article, of which Spain was not altogether ignorant, which provided that in case Great Britain should again be put in possession of West Florida at the close of the war the southern boundary of the United States should be a line drawn eastward from the mouth of

⁶ Not all the documents that have been found or that are known to exist are here printed. For example, several of Gardoqui's despatches are largely concerned with the Bourbon County incident, particularly after it was brought to the attention of Congress in the autumn of 1785. Some mention of these despatches is made later.

⁷ For instance, compare the letter of Thomas Green, July 10, 1786, to be printed in the next installment, and his letter of December 23 of that year printed in *Dipl. Corr. of U. S. A.*, 1783-1789, III, 242. See also Thomas Marshall Green, *The Spanish Conspiracy*, pp. 73 ff.

⁸ Baton Rouge and Natchez had fallen into Spanish hands in September, 1779, Mobile had been captured on March 14, 1780, and Pensacola, under General John Campbell, had capitulated on May 9, 1781.

the Yazoo to the river Apalachicola, or about $32^{\circ} 30'$, instead of the line of 31° . The territory in controversy was, therefore, this strip of about one and a half degrees, of the western end of which Spain was in actual possession.⁹

As early as 1783, and before the definitive treaty had been signed, the state of Georgia, by an act of the assembly,¹⁰ had defined her boundaries as extending westward to the Mississippi and southward to the thirty-first degree of latitude, but no further steps seem to have been taken to assert control over the territory until nearly two years later. On November 5, 1784, a petition from Thomas Green in behalf of the people of Natchez was presented to the council¹¹ and referred to the house of assembly. This petition¹² or a similar one appeared in the assembly on January 17, 1785, and was referred to a committee, who, on January 21, reported the outlines of a bill for laying out a district of land situated on the Mississippi into a county to be called Bourbon.¹³ The bill itself was brought in on the following day, and by February 3 had been put through all the necessary stages and had been enacted into a law.¹⁴ On February 4 a committee was appointed to draw up "such private instructions as may be thought proper for the persons appointed Justices for the County of Bourbon".¹⁵ These instructions were reported on February 7 and passed on February 11.¹⁶ Meanwhile, on February 8, the oath had been administered to the four justices who were then present, Green, Long, Davenport, and

⁹ For accounts of the Florida boundary, see Hinsdale, "The Establishment of the First Southern Boundary of the United States", in the *Annual Report of the Amer. Hist. Assoc.* for 1893, pp. 331-336; Haskins, "The Yazoo Land Companies" in *Papers of the Amer. Hist. Assoc.*, V. 375-437. A summary is in Ogg, *The Opening of the Mississippi*. See also *American State Papers, Public Lands*, I. 34-67, and *Foreign Relations*, I. 252 ff.

¹⁰ "An Act for Opening the Land Office and for other Purposes", Watkins. *Digest of the Laws of Georgia*, pp. 258-265; Marbury and Crawford, *Digest*, pp. 323-328.

¹¹ *Georgia Revolutionary Records*, II. 742.

¹² "A petition from Thomas Green, in behalf of himself and others, settlers at the Natches, was read, and referred to a special Committee. Ordered that Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Few, Mr. Brownson, Mr. John Houston, and Mr. Stephens be that Committee." *Manuscript Journals of the House of Representatives, 1778-1786*, p. 162. The petition has not been found.

¹³ It was in this same year that Bourbon County, Kentucky, was erected and named in honor of the reigning house of France.

¹⁴ The act was not engrossed until February 7, and so bears that date. *Manuscript Journals of the House of Representatives, February 7*.

¹⁵ The committee was composed of John Houston, Fort, Few, Baldwin, and Porter.

¹⁶ See *post*, p. 71.

Christmas, who were commissioned to administer it to the other justices.¹⁷

Of those who were named in the act, several were of Green's immediate family. Thomas Marston Green was his son and Cato West was his son-in-law. Abner Green, register of probates, was also his son. Others were prominent residents of the district, and most of them, it appears, had been named without their consent. Two of them afterward took a decided part in opposition to the scheme of Green.¹⁸ The only ones who took part at any time in the negotiations were the four who were at the capital of Georgia when the act was passed, Thomas Green, Long, Davenport, and Christmas.¹⁹ Although no distinction had been made between them and the other justices, these four appear to have regarded themselves in the character of special envoys.

Green and Davenport went to Natchez by way of the Ohio and the Mississippi and for a time appear to have journeyed together,²⁰ though they separated at some point on the route and Green reached Natchez some two weeks in advance of Davenport, Green probably on June 9,²¹ and Davenport on June 24. Long and Christmas made their way through the Indian country and did not arrive until late in August. What occurred in Natchez from the time of Green's arrival is sufficiently revealed by the documents which follow. They are presented in the language in which they are found, except the Spanish translations of documents written in English. These have been translated back into English before printing. The Spanish documents have been printed in accordance with the copies obtained, including irregularity of accent.

EDMUND C. BURNETT.

¹⁷ See *post*, p. 71.

¹⁸ See *post*, p. 77.

¹⁹ Long had been deputy quartermaster-general of the Southern department (see *Jour. of Cont. Cong.*, May 7, 1776), and was a member of the assembly at the time of the Bourbon Act. He was afterward connected with the Yazoo speculation as a member of the Georgia-Mississippi Company. An account of him is in Gilmer, *Georgians*, pp. 227 ff. Of the antecedent history of Davenport and Christmas little is known. Something of Davenport's subsequent history is mentioned in the foot-note to his letter of May 22, 1786, to be printed in the next installment. Christmas eventually settled in Mississippi. Concerning the other men named as justices, particularly the Greens and Cato West, more or less information is found in the works on Mississippi already mentioned.

²⁰ Such, at least, seems to be a proper interpretation of a letter of Madison to Monroe, June 21, 1785. Hunt, *Writings of James Madison*, II, 146; Gilpin, *Writings of Madison*, I, 155.

²¹ See *post*, p. 76, foot-note 42.

I. ACT ORGANIZING BOURBON COUNTY, FEBRUARY 7, 1785.²²
GEORGIA.

AN ACT

For laying out a District of land situate on the river Mississippi and within the limits of this State into a County to be called Bourbon.

Whereas it is expedient and necessary for the accommodation of the Inhabitants of this State that a new County be laid out in the same.

Be it therefore Enacted, by the Representatives of the freemen of the State of Georgia in general Assembly met and by the Authority of the same that from and immediately after the passing of this Act, all that Tract or district of Country within the Charter boundaries of this State, which lies on the Eastern side of the River Mississippi and is contained and comprehended in the lines limits and description herein after mentioned shall be and the same is hereby declared to be formed into a new County to be called known and distinguished by the name of Bourbon County.

And be it further enacted that the following shall be the lines limits and extent of the said County that is to say the same shall begin at the Mouth of the river Yazous where it empties itself into the river Mississippi thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi until it shall intersect the Northernmost part of the thirty first degree of North latitude south by a line to be drawn due east from the determination of the line last mentioned in the latitude of Thirty one Degrees North of the Equator as far as the lands reach which in that district have been at any time relinquished by the Indians, thence along the line of the said relinquishment to the said river Yazous, thence down the said river to the beginning.

And the said County shall comprehend and include all the lands and waters within the said description. And Whereas it will not be proper at present to open a Land office for the purpose of granting out the lands in the said County, But nevertheless it is hereby enacted and declared that whenever that measure shall be determined upon by this or a future Legislature, there shall be a right of preference, agreeable to the laws of this State, reserved to any all and every honest and friendly possessor and possessors of the said Lands who shall be Citizens of either of the United States or the subjects of any power that was friendly to the United States during the War, provided such persons do actually live on and cultivate the said Lands or a part thereof and shall apply and present themselves on equal terms with other petitioners.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that when it shall be determined on to grant the said Lands, the price thereof shall not exceed one quarter of a Dollar per Acre.

And be it further enacted that the following persons²³ (to Wit) Tacitus Gilliard, Thomas Green, Sutton Banks, Nicolas Long, William Davenport, Nathaniel Christmas, William M'Intosh Jun^r., Benjamin Farrer, Cato West, Thomas Marston Green, William Anderson, Adam Benjamin, and John Ellis shall be and they are hereby nominated and

²² Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, Acts of the General Assembly, 1778-1786, pp. 258-262. Printed in Watkins, *Digest of the Laws of Georgia*, pp. 304-305. The act was passed on February 3, but as it was not engrossed until February 7 it bears the latter date.

²³ The names should be Gaillard, Farrar, and Bingaman.

appointed Justices of the Peace,²¹ and Abner Green Register of Probats for the said County and his Honor the Governor is hereby authorized and required to administer the oaths²² of Allegiance and of Office to such of the said persons as can personally attend him in Council and to grant a special Commission directed to such as shall qualify before him, to enable them or any two of them who shall so attend to qualify the others in the same manner as they have been qualified when they shall repair to the said County of Bourbon.

And be it further enacted that the said Justices after being duly qualified as aforesaid shall be and they or any two of them are hereby authorized and empowered to administer the oath of Allegiance to this State to any person and persons Inhabitants of the said County who shall not have been proscribed by this or some other of the United States of America and thereupon such person and persons shall be entitled to vote for and serve as members of Assembly or Militia officers and the said Justices shall keep a list or roll of the names of all such persons as they shall Administer the oath of Allegiance to and transmit the same to his Honor the Governor as soon as may be in the course of the present year.

Signed in the House of Assembly Savannah in Georgia 7th February, 1785, and in the Ninth year of American Independence. By order of the House

JOSEPH HABERSHAM, Speaker.

II. INSTRUCTIONS TO THE JUSTICES OF BOURBON COUNTY.²³

Friday February 11th 1785.

The House proceeded to take into consideration the report of the Committee appointed to draw up private instructions for the Government of the Inhabitants of Bourbon, and agreed to the same as follows

To Tacitus Galliard, Thomas Green, Sutton Bankes,²⁴ Nicholas Long, William Davenport, Nathaniel Christmas, William McIntosh junr., Benjamin Farrow,²⁵ Cato West, Thomas Marston Green, William Anderson, Adam Bingham²⁶ and John Ellis Esquires appointed justices of the peace for the County of Bourbon.

It having been deemed expedient, at the instance and on the application of several persons living on the river Mississippi to form a County in that district of the State and to nominate and appoint you the said Tacitus Galliard Thomas Green, Sutton Bankes,²⁷ Nicholas Long, William

²¹ As first drawn the bill provided for six justices of the peace. Whether the amendment increasing the number was made in committee of the whole or in the council does not appear, as amendments were made in both instances. Manuscript Journal of the House of Representatives, January 24 and February 1.

²² The oath was administered to Green, Long, Davenport, and Christmas personally, and a commission was issued to them February 8, empowering them to administer a like oath to the other justices, who are named personally in the commission. The original of this commission has not been found, but a Spanish translation of it was inclosed in Miró's letter (no. 210) to the Conde de Galvez, July 22, 1785, and is in Seville, Archivo General de Indias: Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Luisiana y Florida, estante 86, cajón 6, legajo 14.

²³ Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, Manuscript Journal of the House of Representatives, February 11, 1785.

²⁴ The names should be Farrar and Bingham, and probably Banks.

Davenport, Nathaniel Christmass, William McIntosh jun^r., Benjamin Farrow,²⁷ Cato West, Thomas Marston Green, William Anderson, Adam Bingham²⁷ and John Ellis Esquires Justices of the peace thereof, you are as nearly as possible to conform yourselves to the following instructions.

1st. As it is by no means the wish or intention of this Legislature to do any Act, which may at present or in its consequences, bring on a dispute or the least misunderstanding with the Crown or Subjects of Spain, you will immediately on receipt hereof in a proper manner notify to the Officer commanding any party or detachment of Spanish Troops (if any such there be) within the Limits of your County, that the General Assembly of Georgia from a desire to organize the several parts of the State, and to form and arrange a System calculated for the free and happy administration of affairs have thought it advisable to lay out that part of the State into a County so that the people settled therein may by electing representatives to meet their fellow Citizens in Assembly participate of the Government and contribute to the support of their Country. And in all respects share in the common benefits and be subject to the common operations of the Laws and Constitution of Georgia

2^{ndly}. Should the said Officer (if any such there be)²⁸ make any objection against exercising the powers which your appointments give you within the said County or any part or portion thereof You are to signify to him that your present instructions enjoin you (as they most positively do) not to afford him any umbrage on that head. And you are authorized in that event to decline exercising any authority over such portion of your County as may interfere with the Spanish claim until you receive further orders in the premises, in this last case the people inhabiting the disputed Territory are until farther advice to consider themselves in the same plight and condition as they were in previous to the laying out of the County. But you are to avail yourselves of the earliest opportunity of transmitting a full and just account of the transactions herein, to His Honor the Governor of this State

3^{dly}. Should there be no objection made you are authorized and empowered to accept and receive from any Spanish or other Officer who may incline to yield up the same full possession in the name and behalf of this State of all such Forts Towns and places as may fall within the limits and description of your said County. But you are to use no coercive means whatever to obtain the same.

4^{thly}. In case of their being no Spanish Troops or officers in any part of your said County, or in case of any voluntarily [*sic*] relinquishment as before mentioned then you are in all respects to conduct and govern yourselves, as are also the people under you agreeable to the Laws and Constitution of this State, and to consider your County as a member of the same, or in case of the Spaniards claiming only a part of the said County then you are in respect to the other part which they do not claim to exercise the authority and proceed in the manner before in this Article mentioned.

²⁸ Apparently the legislature is studiously ignorant of conditions in Natchez. If Thomas Green did not enlighten the members he could easily have done so. Compare Miró's letter to Josef de Galvez, June 25, 1785, *post*, p. 95. Josef de Galvez was an uncle of Bernardo de Galvez, viceroy of Mexico.

5^{thly}. You are by the most friendly offices and conduct to cultivate amity with the Indians and by no means suffer any of the people of your County, so far as you can restrain them from purchasing or in any shape encroaching on their hunting ground without a lawful authority for that purpose. But you are authorized and required to give every encouragement and protection to a generous and liberal Trade with such of those people as live within the limits of this State and to take every opportunity of assuring them of our good disposition towards their Tribes and Nations.

6^{thly}. You are not without further orders and authority to engage in any dispute with either the Spaniards or the Indians about Territorial claims—the navigation of the Mississippi or any other matter whatsoever which may eventually involve this State in a contest. Should you or the people under you by any misconduct or Breach of these instructions draw on such, it will not be considered that you have any claim to the protection or support of your fellow Citizens in this Quarter of the State.

7^{thly}. You are to lay out the whole of your County or such part thereof as falls within the foregoing instructions into Districts so as to enable the people to elect their Militia officers and do other matters appertaining to the due regulations of the County, agreeable to Law.

8^{thly}. And lastly, you are as often as occasions may require or opportunities offer to make communication of your situation and every other matter respecting your County or the people thereof to his Honor the Governor of this State, who will afford you every legal countenance in the prosecution of your duty.

III. ALEXANDER MCGILLIVRAY TO ESTEVAN MIRÓ,²⁸

PENSACOLA, May 16, 1785.

My Dear Sir:

It has been my desire ever since last summer to have the honor of visiting Your Lordship in person at New Orleans, but our proximity to the restless and turbulent American states, which keeps us in a constant state of alarm, has prevented me thus far from doing so.

I can inform Your Lordship, through authentic reports, that the Americans have sent commissioners especially to survey and fix the boundary of thirty-one degrees north latitude on the Mississippi, in conformity with the articles of peace between Great Britain and America. There is a body of Americans encamped at the mouth of the Ohio River, under the command of Generals Montgomery²⁹ and Clark,³⁰ in all about 2,500 men, determined to take possession by force as soon as the commissioners shall have concluded their task.

They are counting much on the belief that the inhabitants along

²⁸ Translated from the Spanish copy inclosed in letter of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, no. 198, June 14, 1785 (*post*, p. 78). It is marked "Traduccion. No. 1^o". Miró had become governor *ad interim* of Louisiana early in this year, succeeding Bernardo de Galvez, who had been made viceroy of Mexico. Miró's appointment as governor is dated July 14, 1785 (Fortier, *Hist. of La.*, III. 109), and he remained at the head of the province until 1791.

²⁹ The allusion may be to Colonel John Montgomery but more probably to Colonel Benjamin Logan or to Colonel George Morgan.

³⁰ General George Rogers Clark.

this river will unite with them in their views and purposes. The Americans certainly have these designs, and they certainly will put them into execution before long. I have always reported to the government my suspicions of the Americans, so that it might be prepared against any surprise.

I have the pleasure of informing your Lordship that the arrival here of Mr. Panton with a cargo of merchandise has given much satisfaction to the tribes, because they now know that the king has graciously confirmed the articles of the Congress of June, 1784, and will have the great confidence in His Most Catholic Majesty which is needed. These supplies will place the tribe in a position to make a powerful resistance against the Americans who advance toward the South beyond their natural boundaries.

I beg Your Lordship to permit me to offer you my most ardent acknowledgements for the suit of clothes which Your Lordship did me the honor to send me, and which I have received by the hand of Lieutenant-Governor Piernas. Allow me to add that I hope that the conduct of my tribe will continue on all occasions to merit the attention and favors which the government of the king has conferred upon them. For my part, I hope that my actions will always manifest the integrity of my heart towards him.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Sir, Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

ALEXANDER MCGILLIVRAY.²²

IV. ALEXANDER MCGILLIVRAY TO VICENTE MANUEL DE ZESPEDES.²³

PENSACOLA 22d May 1785

Sir

I take the Liberty by this opportunity of making Your Excellency my apology for not having done myself the honor of Waiting upon you long before this at St. Augustine it has always been my earnest desire to do so but being well acquainted with the Turbulent and Restless disposition of our American Neighbourhood and of Consequence I have been obliged to watch their motions with the most unremitting attention in order to make some discoveries of their designs either against my people or the Kings Territories. My being now at this place is owing to Something of these matters which I judged it proper for the Kings Governors to know. a short time ago I received Authentic Intelligence that some of the American States had appointed Commissioners to go and to ascertain the exact place where the 31st. degree of North latitude would Include on the Mississippi and elsewhere and that a body of 2500 men under two Generals were on the said River ready to take possession by force and establish themselves wherever the Commissioners should direct.

The Inhabitants here before my coming down were alarmed with a report that the Americans were coming against this place. I have quieted their apprehensions on this Score by pointing out to them the Impracticability of such an attempt even if the Americans were Really Serious in such a design as not only the great distance by land but that they would have to encounter with a powerfull Indian Nation thro whose country they would be under a Necessity to march and that while those

²² There is an account of McGillivray in Chappell, *Miscellanies of Georgia*. part 1. ch. III., and in many other places.

²³ Library of Congress, East Florida Papers, CXIV., J 9.

Indians continued to be on the good footing that they are now on with the Spanish Nation, the Americans Never would attempt any thing of the kind. . . .

I am with the Most Respectfull Esteem

Sir

your Excellencys Most Obedt. Servant

ALEX: MCGILLIVRAY

His Excellency Governor DeZepedes²⁴

V. PEDRO FAVROT TO MIRÓ, JUNE 3, 1785.²⁵

Mui Sor, mio y mi Coronel.

Aprovecho de esta ocasion para participar á V. S. que acaba de llegar de la Nacion Alibamon²⁶ el nombrado Simon con Thomás Mauvéz, que viene de Augusta el que dice ha visto en Villasecom²⁷ al Capitán Donsport,²⁸ Comandante de un Cuerpo de trescientos Americanos, hombres escogidos, y que le dijo partia para el Puesto de Natchéz, donde debia juntarse á un cuerpo de mil hombres de la Virginea y que bajaba[n] por el Rio Ohio otros mil Virginianos, que train Artilleria, que todos tres cuerpos se reunirian en Natchéz, donde intimarian al comand^{te}, les entregase su fuerte, y que si lo rehusaba, lo tomarian por fuerza, por pertenecerles su distrito, segun la linea que habian tirado.

El Gefé principal de chicachás que ha tres dias llegó aquí, me ha hecho igual relacion Estas voces son publicas en todas estas Naciones de Yndios. El mismo Gefé añadió q^o. havia rehusado conceder tierras que le han sido pedidas por Diputados Americanos, sin haber querido admitir los regalos que estos le presentaron, por que bien veia que si les concedia tierras se fortificarian en ellas y depues les harian la ley.

El Ynterprete Fabre q^o. acaba de llegar de la Nación Chactá confirma las noticias arriba dadas.

Puede V.S. mi Coronel estar assegurado que en breve tendrá bastante ocupacion, y sus luzes le dictaran lo que debe hacer en semejantes circunstancias.

Dios gue. á V.S. m^{te}. a^{te}. Movila 3 de Junio de 1785.

B. I. m^{te} de V.S. su mas seguro y atento serv^{or}.

PEDRO FAVROT.²⁹

MIRÓ.

Sor. Dn. Esteban Miró.

²⁴ Vicente Manuel de Zepedes became governor of East Florida in June, 1784.

²⁵ Inclosed in letter of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, June 14, 1785 (*post*, p. 78). It is marked "Copia. No. 2^o".

²⁶ The Alibamu Indians, a tribal remnant belonging to the Creek or Muscogee confederacy, inhabited the region about the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers. Consult Gatschet, *Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, pp. 85-89, 120 ff.; Benjamin Hawkins, "Sketch of the Creek Country", pp. 35, 36 (*Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, vol. III., part 1.); and report of Caleb Swan in Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the United States*, V, 251 ff. The Simon here mentioned is doubtless Simon Andry, who lived in that locality, as did also the interpreter Favre mentioned later in the letter. See Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile, passim*, and Bernard Romans, *Florida*, p. 332; also *American State Papers, Public Lands*, I., and *Mississippi Territorial Archives*, I.

²⁷ The place has not been identified.

²⁸ The allusion is evidently to Captain William Davenport, one of the Georgia commissioners, but this report like all the others was a great exaggeration.

²⁹ Favrot was commandant of Mobile. See *post*, p. 78, and compare Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*, pp. 265, 282-283.

VI. THOMAS GREEN TO FELIPE TREVIÑO, JUNE 12 [?], 1785.⁴⁰
COLONEL TREVIÑO.⁴¹

Sir:

I returned home yesterday, and as I have matters of consequence and importance to communicate to you it will be some days before I can go to see you; however, I will do so as soon as possible.

I have the honor to be with respect, Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

THOMAS GREEN.

June 12,⁴² 1785.

VII. THOMAS GREEN TO FELIPE TREVIÑO, JUNE —, 1785.⁴³

Please permit me to inform you that I have received instructions from the very honorable Samuel Elbert,⁴⁴ Esquire, captain-general, governor and commander-in-chief of the state of Georgia, and from the Honorable House of Assembly of said state, to proceed with the civil government of the new county recently formed by deliberation of the said state, known by the name of the new County of Bourbon, whose boundaries I have transcribed to you in the copy of an act of the general assembly cited above, together with part of an act of the assembly concerning the map of boundaries of the said state of Georgia, and also a part of the instructions that I have received, of which I likewise inclose you a copy.⁴⁵

Since I am well assured that your garrison and the district of Natchez are within the limits of the said County of Bourbon, and in conformity with the instructions that I have received, I therefore make it known to you, and if you have any objection to this procedure, judg-

⁴⁰ Translated from copy inclosed in letter of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, no. 199, June 20, 1785 (*post*, p. 91), marked "No. 1. Traducción".

⁴¹ Treviño had been commandant of Natchez since August, 1783.

⁴² It is probable that this letter should be dated June 10 instead of June 12. Miró, writing to the Conde de Galvez, June 20 (*post*, p. 91), says that Treviño had stated in his letter of June 10 that Green had arrived the day before; and Green says: "I arrived yesterday." In his letter to Miró, June 15 (*post*, p. 82), Treviño says that on the day following his letter no. 189 (which, according to Miró, was dated June 10) Green had presented himself. This would place the interview on June 11. Although Green says: "It will be some days before I can go to see you", he probably went the next day. That this interview could not have been later than June 13 is evidenced by the fact that two or three days must have elapsed since the interview when Treviño wrote his letter of June 15.

⁴³ Translated from the Spanish copy inclosed in letter of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, no. 199, June 20, 1785 (*post*, p. 91). It is marked "No. 6. Traducción". The letter is without date but was presented to Treviño probably on June 11. See foot-note 42.

⁴⁴ Samuel Elbert was elected governor of Georgia in January, 1785. The Spanish text has here "Samuel Herbert".

⁴⁵ The copies which Green delivered to Treviño were: that part of the act of February 17, 1783, which defined the boundaries of the state (*ante*, p. 68); the first part of the act of February 7, 1785, ending with the words, "And the said County shall comprehend and include all the lands and waters within the said description"; and articles 1 to 4, inclusive, of the instructions of February 11 (*ante*, p. 71). In this copy the instructions are addressed to Thomas Green, Esq., and begin: "You are to conform yourself as nearly as possible to the following instructions." At the end Green has certified: "This is a true copy and agrees with the original of a part of the instructions." See the letter of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, no. 210, July 22, *post*, p. 107.

ing that your garrison and district, or any part of it, do not come within these limits, I hope that you will let me know, writing me as soon as you can conveniently do so, defining the limits and boundaries which you hold in the name of His Catholic Majesty. Of this [reply] I am to send a copy at the first opportunity to the general assembly or to the governor of Georgia.

I am, sir, with assurances of the greatest esteem, your most obedient friend and truly humble servant,

THOMAS GREEN,
Lieutenant-Colonel of Bourbon County.

VIII. ELLIS, GAILLARD, AND BANKS TO THE CITIZENS OF NATCHEZ,
JUNE —, 1785.⁴⁸

Gentlemen and Fellow-Citizens:

The proceedings of Thomas Green in the state of Georgia are so alarming to the good people of this country that we think it necessary for the inhabitants to assemble in order to consider what means can be taken to prevent the ruin and destruction of this country if it should fall under the government of Georgia, which, we are ready to show, would result if this should occur. At the same time we declare our opinion to be, and it is founded upon reason and justice, that by exerting ourselves in time we may be able to completely undo this and become a separate state. In consequence, we ask that you come next Wednesday at ten o'clock in the morning to the house of Mr. Brocus,⁴⁹ where we will be, and we will present to you the reasons, which your own good judgment will show you, why, if this country remains subject to the state of Georgia, it will only prove its ruin and destruction.

As Thomas Green, officiously and of his own accord, has taken it upon himself to sacrifice this country to the state of Georgia, we think it very necessary to advise him that he ought to present himself and give his reasons for these irregular proceedings.

Hoping that every true friend of this country will be present as is requested, we remain unanimously your true friends and fellow-citizens,

RICHARD ELLIS.⁵⁰
TACITUS GAILLARD,
SUTTON BANKS.

To the Inhabitants of the Country of Natchez.

⁴⁸No English copy of this manifesto has been found. It is here translated from the Spanish translation which Miró sent to the Conde de Galvez with his letter of June 20 (*post*, p. 91). It is marked "No. 8. Traducción". It is undated but was issued probably on June 12. It was evidently after Green's visit to Treviño (see *ante*, p. 76, n. 42) and it could scarcely have been later than June 12, for Treviño says (letter to Miró, June 15, *post*, p. 82): "Two days after this summons of theirs had been written and circulated in the district the said Tacito Gaillard sent to me one of Richard Ellis's sons to ask my permission to assemble the people." From the statement of Rodriguez (*post*, p. 85) it appears that the meeting took place on June 15.

⁴⁹The name appears both as "Brocus" and "Brocas" in these documents. In *American State Papers, Public Lands*, I., *passim*, it appears as "Brocus"; but Davenport, who lodged at his house for a time, writes it "Brocas".

⁵⁰Richard Ellis was probably the father of John Ellis, who was named as one of the justices of Bourbon County. Probably also he was the same Richard Ellis who had been made agent for prizes for Newbern, North Carolina, in 1776. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, April 23, 1776. At this time he was a large landholder in the Natchez district. See *American State Papers, Public Lands*, I.

IX. MIRÓ TO THE CONDE DE GALVEZ, JUNE 14, 1785.⁴⁹

Exmo. Señor. Mui Sor. mio:

Desde el año pasado tube noticias vagas de que los Americanos se disponian en lo alto del Río Ohio, para bajar á tomar posesion, por fuerza ó de grado del distrito de Natchéz, por comprehendido en los treinta y un grados latitud Norte, limites indebidam^{te}, señalados por los Yngleses en su tratado de Paz con los Estados Unidos: de que di parte al Capitan general sobstituto Dn. Josef de Ezpeleta, limitando mis disposiciones, que aprobó á que el Comand^{te}. de Natchéz procurase indagar la verdad de estos rumores, y que siempre que tubiesen alguna verosimilitud, me avisase: lo que ha hecho en varias ocaciones, reduciendose todo á que segun las conversaciones generales, estaban persuadidos los mas de aquellos havitantes, á que en breve seria ocupado su distrito segun el citado tratado, por los Americanos;⁵⁰ cuyas voces no me dieron cuidado alguno, persuadido á que la buena razón dicta la injusticia de la pretension á un territorio cedido por quien no es dueño de él; pero las noticias, que desde quince dias á esta parte he recibido hasta ayer, me ponen en el caso de no poder despreciarlas. Las primeras fueron que al Comand^{te}. de la Movila se le presentó un tratante que habia hablado con varios Yndios, que le participaron haber visto en la desembocadura del Río Ohio en el Mississipi, un Campamento de tropas Americanas, que necesitó emplear todo el dia para atravesarle: expresiones hiperbólicas de que sabe V.E. hacen uso los Yndios. Añadieron que tiraron los Americanos algunos cañonazos durante el mismo dia, y que les digéron anunciassen á su Nacion, se mantubiesen tranquilos, que no venian á hacerles daño. Las últimas son las que V.E. verá en las cartas, cuyas copias encluyo bajo No. 1^o. y 2^o. de Dn. Alexandro M. Gillevray⁵¹ Comisario de la Nacion Talapuche, y Dn. Pedro Josef Favrot⁵² comand^{te}. de la Movila.

En vista de ellas he dispuesto salga dentro de tres dias la segunda compañía de Granaderos del Regim^{to}. de mi cargo con quarenta y seis plazas, algunos viveres y municiones para reforzar á Natchéz, con lo que tendrá aquel Comand^{te}. cien hombres de Guarnicion, dándole la instruccion que V.E. verá en el documento No. 3.⁵³ por uno de cuyos artículos le autorizo á agregar los Voluntarios de que tenga confianza, con las prevenciones, que dicho artículo comprehende. Al mismo tiempo destáco mañana una Pirágua con un Cabo de confianza, y quatro remeros que suban como cazadores Río arriba, á fin de retroceder con prontitud á dar aviso, en caso de que halle bajando los Barcos chatos con la tropa Americana; y sino debe seguir y reconocer el terreno de la embocadura del Ohio, y si aun allí no hallase gente alguna llegará á Ylinoá,⁵⁴ por no faltar ya mas que treinta leguas, con carta mia para aquel Comand^{te}, que prevenido quede mas facilmente descubrir los

⁴⁹ This letter (marked no. 198), with its inclosures, is in Mexico, Archivo General y Público: Sección de Historia, tomo 162 ("Carp^a. No. 3. Div^a. 4^a. del L^o. No. 5.—No. 1^o "). Copies of all of them, inclosed in letter (no. 82) of Miró to Josef de Galvez, June 14, 1785, are in Seville, Archivo General de Indias: Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Luisiana y Florida, estante 86, cajón 6, legajo 14.

⁵⁰ See a letter of Miró to Josef de Galvez, June 10 (reference as above).

⁵¹ Letter of McGillivray, May 16, *ante*, p. 73.

⁵² Letter of Favrot, June 3, *ante*, p. 75.

⁵³ See *post*, p. 85, note 72.

⁵⁴ The commandant of Illinois (St. Louis) was Don Francisco Cruzat.

movimientos de los Americanos para participarmelos. A todo me auxilia este Yntendente²⁵ con el zelo acostumbrado, caminando siempre ambos de acuerdo.

Permitame V.E.^a, haga mis reflexiones sobre los passos de dicha Potencia, supuesto hallarse apostado el referido cuerpo de Tropas, de que me parece hay poco que dudar, á menos de que la casualidad sea tanta que en quatro distintos parages se haya forxado la misma noticia, y quasi con las propias circunstancias. Permitame tambien siga con la pintura del estado de defensa de esta Provincia, y concluya con las representaciones que me dictten los desseos de conserbar estos dominios de S.M. y desempeñar todas las obligaciones de mi honor.

No hay razon ninguna, para que los Estados Unidos insulten las armas de S.M. bajo el pretexto de los limites concedidos tan injustamente por los Yngleses hasta los treinta y un grados en este Rio mucho menos aun la hay, para q^u. lo executen al mismo tiempo que saben está nombrado por nuestra Corte un Enviado²⁶ cerca del Congreso para tratar de estos mismos limites en la forma debida: pues es S.M. poseedor del Continente en q^u. deben señalarse: circunstancias q^u. me persuaden no ser en el dia su intento venir á tomar posesión por fuerza de Natchéz; pero como ellos saben que al fin del presente Mes están ya las aguas bajas en el Ohio, y por lo tanto impracticable el paso para Barcos chatos y Lanchones: conceptúo se han adelantado á apostarse en la desembocadura de dho. Rio al Missisipi con uno de los dos fines siguientes.

Primero: pensando favorablemente, y bajo la razón de que no es creible se empeñe dha. Potencia en una Guerra con nosotros en el Estado de Ynfancia, en que se halla, puede suceder sea la gente apostada en dho. parage un compuesto de familias y alguna tropa para formar algun establecimiento con un fuerte en la línea divisoria sobre el Missisipi.

Segundo: El vando que de orden de S.M.²⁷ he publicado con fha. de siete de Septiembre de 1784 prohibiendo la entrada del Rio á las embarcaciones de la citada Potencia, puede haberles hecho conceptuar que nuestra corte jamas adherirá á condeserlo, discurriendo, como es claro, que es el unico medio de hacerles inutiles las posesiones qualesquiera, que por los limites que se señalen, tengan en este Rio y que por lo contrario podrian dar con la libre navegacion tal fomento á ellas que en breves años se hallasen en estado no solo de hacerse dueños de esta Provincia, sino de estender sus conquistas y correrias acia lo interior de Nueva España. Este es el gran punto de dificultad que hay que vencer; y si, como es factible, la Ynglaterra por resentimiento de las perdidas que ha sufrido en la última Guerra, ha prometido sostenerlos es verosimil que el Cuerpo de Tropas arriba apostado, lo esté á fin de obrar hostilmente, sin dar lugar á que esta Provincia sea socorrida luego que se crean autorizados á ello por la negatiba.

En este caso las superiores luces de V.E. (que distinguirán si está ó nó remoto) no pueden menos de presentar á su imaginacion el triste estado de la Provincia, y condolerse de mí, por hallarme mandandola.

²⁵ The intendant of Louisiana was Don Martin Navarro.

²⁶ Gardoqui had arrived in Philadelphia May 20. *Dip. Corr. of U. S. A.* 1783-1789, III. 142. He reached New York at the end of June and was received by Congress on July 2. *Ibid.*, p. 150, and *Secret Journals of the Continental Congress*, III. 563.

²⁷ See Josef de Galvez to Rendon, June 26, 1784, *ibid.*, III. 517.

La Tropa que tengo en esta Guarnicion en estado de poder marchar, son trescientos veinte y tres Cabos y soldados, los dos tercios reclutas que V.E. acaba de embiarme, hallandose los restantes hasta seis cientos noventa y cinco, fuerza efectiba del primer Batallon de mi cargo, unico que guarnece esta Provincia, cubriendo los Puestos, todos mal guarnecidos, su armamento es quasi inutil, como tengo expuesto á V.E. con fha. de 1^o. de Septbre de 1784. y sin ninguno de repuesto: lo que hice presente al Brigadier Dn. Josef de Ezpeleta en la formacion del segundo Batallon, por cuya razón parte del que usa en Panzacola es del tomado á los Yngleses, diferente calibre del de ordenanza.

Es principio sentado que el servicio de las Milicias es util quando está apoyado con número superior de Veteranos. Supongo no obstante que logre juntar como V.E., aunque distinto el caso, quinientos hombres blancos de ellas y dosientas de color, incluso los esclavos. No dejarán de marchar unos y otros con repugnancia, si consideran al enemigo con el numero de Dos mil y quinientos, y si este logra hacer passar avisos de no perjudicar al Paisano que se mantenga tranquilo.

Por lo que toca á Artilleria y sus pertrechos estoy sumamente exhausto. Lo mas que podré havilitar sin dejar en esta Plaza defensa ninguna son dos cañones de á veinte y quatro ochos de diez y ocho, y dos de Batallon.

En toda la Provincia el unico feurte que puede hacer alguna resistencia es el de Natchez,²⁶ con motivo de la obra que le añadí en el año de 1782, y aun esta proporcionado á la Artilleria que traigan los enemigos, por q^o. tiene dos alturas, una que lo domina, y otra que le iguala á tiro corto de Cañón, siendo aquel terreno quebrado con varias eminencias á poca distancia unas de otras. Para que V.E. pueda formar juicio de la debilidad de este fuerte, voy á detallarle lo mas claro me sea posible. Figúrese V.E. un cono truncado que en la superficie superior se ha escavado á la profundidad de seis pies en el centro, hasta formar interiormente un pentágono regular de diez y ocho toesas de lado, quedando sin embargo un platén en la parte no escavada, donde están las explanadas y cañones, sin mas parapeto q^o. una estacada de maderas, que se tocan uno á otros de un grueso quadrado capaz de resistir á la bala de fusil, y en ella portas para los cañones: de que resulta que así estos, como los que los sirven están peor que si se hallasen enteram^{te}. á descubierto; y solo en la Plaza interior formada por la escavacion es donde está la tropa y sus aloxamientos de abrigo. Los dos lados del Pentágono que miran al Río, del que están á tiro largo, y mui incierto, no tienen mas defensa que la del mismo fuerte. En la parte opuesta está la citada obra que le añadí con Merlones de tierra, revestidos de madera, terraplenados á fuerza de pisón de diez pies de espesor, con cuyos baluartes y sus flancos cubre y protege los otros tres lados del fuerte, estando contigua á este, y seis pies mas baja que su nivel, con un foso de diez y seis pies de profundidad del lado de la escarpa, cincuenta de ancho en la cortina y treinta y seis por todo el resto, de cuyos extremos sale una estacada baja de once pies fuera de tierra, seis pulgadas de espesor, y fortificada en sus angulos, por no ser susceptible de la continuacion del foso el fuerte viejo, á causa de lo demasiado escarpada que se halla la elevación en que está colocado.

²⁶Fort Panmure, the old Fort Rosalie of the French period. Upon the British occupation after the peace of 1763 the fort was rechristened in honor of the Earl of Panmure.

Sobre la banqueta ó platén de dho. fuerte viejo en tres de sus ángulos hay tres torreones de piezas de madera de dos altos, que imitan en su construccion á los de la Plaza de Panzacola, y sirven para alojamiento de Oficiales, con una avertura en la parte alta, que corre por toda la circunferencia para la fusileria, y en la baja un cañoneito en cada uno de tres de sus quatro frentes, con catorce troneras en el recinto de su estacada, y diez y siete en la obra exterior: siendo el numero de piezas que se hallan montadas, todas en uno y otro, dos cañones del calibre de á 12, ocho del de á 6, ocho del de á 4, doce del de á 3, y tres de á una libra, con tres Pedreros de á media libra.

Esta es toda la fortificacion que hay en la Provincia, por q^a. el fuerte de Baton Rouge como construido de faginas; no obstante las reparaciones, que se le han hecho, se halla mui deteriorado, assi por el discurso del tiempo, como por haberse el Rio comido aquella punta que flanqueaba parte de el.

Este es el estado de defensa á que se halla reducida la Provincia; y por lo que toca á las representaciones que arriba prometo hacer á V.E., me parece que despues de lo dicho, V.E.^a. mejor que yo sabrá si debo temer ó no una incursion graduará el numero de tropas que se necesitan para conservar estos dominios á S.M.; y si V.E. supiese las instrucciones que lleba nuestro embiado al congreso, podria tal vez inferir si resultará ó no la Guerra; y assi solo me reduzco á embiar á V.E. la lista No. 4.^a de armamento, Artilleria y sus pertrechos, y municiones, que en todos los estados embiados anualmente se han pedido á la Corte. Creco solamente mi zelo empeñado á decir aquí lo que comprehende por el conocimiento práctico que tengo del País, por las conversaciones que estoy impuesto han tenido los Americanos en general, y por los desseos que siempre han manifestado de venir á establecerse en este Rio: que jamas, ó con suma dificultad, se convendrán á estar privados de la navegacion del Rio: que de tenerla se seguirán con el tiempo gravisimos males; y q^a. segun el estado actual de dha. Potencia ese preferible en el dia la Guerra, á la q^a. podrán hacer dentro de diez años, con tal que se cubra esta Provincia con un cuerpo suficiente de tropas, por ser el unico é inmediato punto de ataque que tienen sobre los dominios de S.M.

Desengañados que fuesen de la concesion de dha. navegacion, sin la qual les serán inútiles estas posesiones podrian convenirse (principalmente si la Ynglaterra no los sostiene) á recibir por ellas una suma, cediendo tambien el distrito de Ylinoá: con lo q^a. quedarian mui separados, y mas facil la defensa de esta Provincia, estableciendo la que fuese precisa sobre el Ohio, por donde pueden siempre intentar incursiones.⁶⁰

Concluiré este oficio prometiendo á V.E. que por mi parte pondré todos los medios posibles, y agotaré quantos recursos mi imaginacion me presente para contener al enemigo; y al primer aviso de que viene bajando de lo alto del Rio, si absolutam^{te}. no puedo remediar tomen á Natchéz, passaré á apostarme sobre Punta cortada,⁶¹ ó á la immediacion del Rio colorado,⁶² con la Tropa y Milicias formando alli mi principal Punto de defensa para poner á cubierto las posesiones mas pingues de

⁶⁰ Omitted. It bears the date June 15, 1785.

⁶¹ This suggestion of Miró has an especial interest in view of his subsequent efforts to detach the Trans-Allegheny region from the United States.

⁶² Better known by the French name, Pointe Coupée.

⁶³ Red River of Louisiana.

la Colonia desde Nachitoches á la Balisa, haciendo poner en estado las dos Lanchas cañoneras y Galera, q^e. me servirán de proteccion. V.E. conocerá que no puedo desprenderme de mas Tropas para Natchéz, por que si alli quisiese formar mi defensa les seria facil bloquearme, y assegurados de no encontrar en otra parte quien los resistiese, bajar á esta Capital, mayormente quando tengo poco q^e. fiar sobre tres cientos hombres de armas que hay en Natchéz, por ser los mas Americanos, y por la posicion de sus haciendas, obligados de grado ó por fuerza á juntarse con el enemigo q^e. se presente superior. En fin mientras reciba ordenes de V.E, estoy resuelto á hacer ver que mi opinion es q^e. toda defensa debe tocar mas bien en lo temerario, que en lo prudente.

Dios nuestro Señor guarde á V.E. muchos años. Nueva Orleans 14 de Junio de 1785.

Ex^{mo}. S^{or}.

B.L.M. de V.E. su mas at^o. Serv^r.

ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

Exmo. S^{or}. Conde de Galvez.⁶³

X. TREVIÑO TO MIRÓ, JUNE 15, 1785.⁶⁴

Muy Señor mio: y mi venerado Gobernador.

Al subsiguiente dia de la data de mi Oficio No. 189,⁶⁵ que dirigi á V.S. por la ocacion del Ayudante de este Fuerte Dn. Estevan Minor,⁶⁶ se verificó el que se me presentase el habitante de este Distrito Thomás Green, nuevamente llegado de la América, habiendo antes de berificarlo corrido las habitaciones de barios sugetos principales, p^a. hacerles saber, y entregarles las comisiones que impresas, y autorizadas por los Magistrados de la Provincia de Georgia les há traído por haber sido electos Juezes de Paz, y oficiales de otra especie, á lo que me ha informado Dn. Adan Bingaman que ha visto las dichas comisiones, por ser uno de los comprendidos en la promocion, cuya comision se consta no ha querido aceptar. El referido thomás Green dió principio en su vista por pedirme le entregase el mando de este Fuerte y su Distrito, haciendome ver sucesivamente, y sin dexar de la mano los papeles que lo autorizavan á ello, y su nombramiento de Gobern^{or}. de este Condado de

⁶³ Bernardo de Galvez, the predecessor of Miró as governor of Louisiana, had only recently been created Count de Galvez and appointed viceroy of Mexico, retaining the title of Captain-General of Louisiana and the Floridas. See Fortier, *Hist. of La.*, III. 103-109.

⁶⁴ Inclosed in a letter of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, no. 199, June 20, 1785 (*post*, p. 91), marked "No. 2. Copia".

⁶⁵ Treviño's letter no. 189, which is missing, appears to have been dated June 10. See letter of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, no. 199, June 20, *post*, p. 91, and foot-note 42, *ante*, p. 76.

⁶⁶ Stephen Minor was a native of Pennsylvania, for some years in the service of Spain. Brief accounts of him are in Rowland, *Mississippi*, II. 247-249, Claiborne, *History of Mississippi*, pp. 199-200, and Wailes, *Agriculture and Geology of Mississippi*, p. 92. In 1792 Gayoso de Lemos sent him on a mission among the Choctaws, and the journal which he kept (March 13 to April 3) is in Seville, Archivo General de Indias: Papeles Procedentes de la Isla de Cuba. In 1797, as commissioner for the Spanish government, he assisted in the survey of the Florida boundary. See Ellicott, *Journal*, and Mathews, *Andrew Ellicott, his Life and Letters*.

Borbon, segun lo nombran actualmente, cuyo papel reconoci estar impreso, con un Gran sello, y varias firmas que no se si lo autorizan. Concluida su arenga que fue bastante dilatada, le respondi que no pudiendo comprenderlo bien, falta de buen Yntérprete, y menos conservar en la memoria quanto me decia, esperaba me entregase todos sus papeles, para por ellos imponerme á fondo de su Comision haciendolos traducir despacio por la persona mas inteligente que pudiese encontrar (con animo de enviar á V.S. sin perdida de tiempo los mismos originales) á lo que me respondi que para este efecto habia sacado copia de los que me concernian, las que me entregó con una carta suya, que dijo le habian encargado me escribiesse á su llegada, cuyos papeles acompaño á V.S. adjuntos para que se imponga de ellos: Me dixo asi mismo el referido Green, sentia infinito la partida de Dn. Estevan Minor por que se persuadia que solo el seria capaz de dar el herbadero sentido, y nervio á la traduccion de sus papeles, lo que era muy interesante, pero que no habiendo otro remedio aguardaria algunos dias para que le diese la respuesta que necesitava, á fin de comunicarla á sus Gefes, en consecuencia de las Ordenes que le habian dado, á lo que le contesto que no obstante de no estar impuesto del contenido de sus papeles, no necesitaba de tiempo para satisfacer á su demanda, pues por su arenga conocia reducirse, á que le entregase el mando de este Fuerte, y su Distrito lo que no podia acordarle de ningun modo, dandole á este efecto al pie de la letra la respuesta que cité á V.S. en mi referido oficio No. 189, me proponia darle, y me contesto le hera imposible pasar á esa Capital á haberse con V.S. pero que esperaria en este Puesto la resolucion de V.S. para inmediatamente dar aviso de ella á sus superiores, conseqüente á lo que le habian prevenido, debiendo advertirme no tuviese el menor recelo de su conducta en este Distrito, pues permaneceria en el, sin hacer la menor videncia, ni fuerza para intentar tomar el Fuerte, sino se lo entregavan, pues sus ordenes en la actualidad solo se reducian á comunicar la determinacion que se le diese, y esperar á que se le enviasen ordenes precisas de lo que debia executar en lo sucesivo, dando en esto cumplimiento á su embaxada, y concluyendo de hablar dixe que estaba bien, pero que era preciso me diese una noticia exacta de los efectos, y Mercaderias, que conducia en su Chalan,⁶⁷ como el numero de remeros, y Pasajeros que venian con el: para que con mi pasaporte saliesen estos del Distrito en el termino de tercero dia, y me respondi no haber traído ningun genero ni Mercancia y solo seis hombres entre Remeros, y Pasajeros, que haria se me presentasen para tomar su pasaporte, pero que uno de ellos no podia retirarse, hasta contextacion de V.S. por venir destinado desde la Georgia, á ser el conductor de su Correo, á lo que no me opuse por no agriar la conversacion que se concluyo con esto.

Segun las noticias que he podido adquirir, he sabido que el referido Thomas Green, continua visitando todo el Distrito, haciendo juntar las gentes en barias habitaciones indistintamente no se con que fin, lo que si se es que todos los dias se divulgan nuevas especies nada convenientes, como la de que deben venir mil y quinientos hombres por tierra de la Provincia de Georgia, y baxar por el Rio otro número considerable, con otras de este tenor, y aun que nada de esto creo, no tiene duda que todas estas especies contribuyen infinito á agitar, y sublevar los animos de

⁶⁷ Scow or flat-boat. Chalan seems to be used interchangeably with *barco chato*.

estos habitantes en la mayor parte dispuestos á todo, y me recelo que si estas noticias pasan como es natural, á las Naciones donde se hallan refugiados los varios Foragidos que con frecuencia suelen infestar este Distrito con sus Piraterias, y de que tengo á V.S. hablado en mi oficio No. 179, me temo que aprovechando esta ocasion favorable que se les presenta, vengan y ocasionen un levantamiento general que sin duda producirá la destruccion de este distrito por muchos años.

Tambien he sabido que ademas de Dn. Adan Bingaman há, habido otros sugetos que con distintos fines, se han negado á recibir las comisiones que les ha traído el mencionado Thomas Green, unos por recelo, y dudar del buen resultado de su embajada, y empresa, y otros por no poder sufrir que este sugeto sea el destinado á mandarlos y ellos á ser sus subditos, en que se concideran agraviados, por la razon de suponerse con mayores luces, mérito, y nacimiento que el; de este número considero al Teniente Coronel tacito Gaillard, sutton Banks, y Ricardo Ellis, que sin mi conocimiento se han atrevido á escribir, y hacer saber á todos los habitantes, un Papel^m combocatorio, cuyo original he podido recoger, y acompaño á V.S. adjunto para que se imponga de sus depravadas ideas.

Despues de dos dias de tener escrito, y publicado en el Distrito su dicho papel convocatorio, el mencionado Tacito Gaillard, me envió uno de los hijos de Ricardo Ellis, á pedirme permiso para juntar el Pueblo, sin citarme parage, como lo hace en su referido papel, con el fin á lo que decia, de hacer conocer al Pueblo que Thomás Green hera un hombre cabiloso, y de mal caracter, que no debía ser creído, pues de ningun modo podía pretender ser Gobernador de este Puesto, que solo pertenecía á la España, sin que la Provincia de Georgia tubiese á él el menor derecho (dorado pretexto con que ha pensado, y creído encubrir sus perversos intentos) á lo que le mande á decir que nuestro sistema de Gobierno solo permite al Juez en casos muy urgentes, juntar el Pueblo para hacerle saber sus determinaciones, y que de ningun modo tenia facultades para concederle esta autoridad, aconsejandole tranquilizase su animo, y permaneciese quieto en su habitacion sin pensar en mezclarse en lo que no le correspondia, y devia despreciar, dandole al mismo tiempo las gracias por su (aparente) zelo; pero no obstante mi denegacion, hé sabido se han juntado, y que el dho. Tacito Gaillard fue el que sostubo la arrenga, hablando con la mayor libertad, y viveza, exponiendo que sin pérdida de tiempo, devian sacudir el Yugo de la dominacion Española, y declararse independientes, sin consentir someterse á ninguna otra dominacion, y aun me han asegurado adelanto su discurso, hasta proponer sitiar el Fuerte, ofreciendo haria los gastos de quanto se necesitase, lo que he sabido por el conducto de Dn. Juan Rodríguez Guarda Almacen de este referido Fuerte, á quien comisioné para que pasando á la casa donde habian citado, preguntase al amo de ella Guillermo Brocas (sugeto de toda mi satisfaccion) lo ocurrido, que testificará á V.S. la certificacion del referido Dn. Juan Rodríguez,⁹⁸ que adjunta acompaño á V.S.

Este hecho del ya citado Tacito Gaillard y sus seguaces, es á mi modo de entender mas detestable que el de Thomas Green, y que á primera vista ofrece al parecer peores consecuencias: Pero tengo la

⁹⁸ See ante, p. 77.

⁹⁹ See post, p. 85.

satisfacción de informar á V.S. que las proposiciones que hizo en la junta el referido Tacito Gaillard, fueron despreciadas por la mayor parte de los concurrentes, del mismo modo que lo han sido hasta ahora los pasos, y proceder de Thomás Green.

No puedo omitir á V.S. que en el día de oy ha llegado de la Nacion Chicachá, el nombrado Faif Habitante de este Distrito, á quien V.S. tenia concedido permiso para que fuese á recoger varios caballos que le pertenecian, este individuo me ha dado la noticia, que en la dicha Nacion se cuenta por cosa positiva, que habian salido de la Provincia de Georgia seis Compañías, que componen el número de quatrocientos hombres destinados á tomar posesion de este Fuerte, y Puesto, no por sitio, ni violencia, sino por cesion que les hemos hecho, lo que confirma una carta escrita de la misma Nacion, al Capitán de Milicias Dn. Ricardo Harrison.

Dios guarde á V.S. muchos años como desco. Natchéz 15 de Junio de 1785.

B.L.M. de V.S. su mas atento servidor y subdito.

FELIPE TREVIÑO.

Sor. Dn. Estevan Miró.

XI. STATEMENT OF JUAN JOSEPH RODRIGUEZ, JUNE 16, 1785.²⁰

Dn. Juan Joseph Rodriguez Guarda Almacen del Fuerte Panmure de Natchéz &a.

Habiendo sido embiado por el Sor. Dn. Felipe Treviño Teniente Coronel de los Rs. Exercitos de S.M. y Comand^{te}, del expresado Fuerte para que averiguase lo resultado en la Junta²¹ que hayer se executó en la casa de el Habitante Guillermo Brocas. Hallé que á mi llegada salian varios habitantes de dha. Casa, y solicitando por el mencionado Brocas la causa de tanta Gente, me respondió hera la Junta que el Teniente Coronel Dn. Tacito Gaillard habia convocado, y solicitando á lo que hiba, supe que dho. Gaillard les habia advertido que de ningun modo admitiesen á Tomás Green por Gobernador de este distrito, que no hera sugeto capaz para ello, y que lo mejor que debian abrazar, hera el que ni la América, ni otra Potencia sugetasen su Cerviz, sino defender la Libertad, haciendo independiente este Distrito, cuya razon pocos de los presentes abrazaron. Y retirandome de dha. Casa vine á la de Benjamin Wellt, y hallé la misma novedad. Lo que certifico baxo mi palabra de honor, segun la interpretacion de el mencionado Brocas, y á peticion de dicho Señor Comand^{te}, doy la presente en el referido Fuerte de Natchéz á diez y seis de Junio de mil setecientos ochenta y cinco.

JUAN JOSEPH RODRIGUEZ.

XII. MIRÓ TO TREVIÑO, JUNE 16, 1785.²²

Ynstrucciones para el Comandante de Natchéz Dn. Phelipe Treviño. Las noticias que acabo de recibir de varios parages de que hay un

²⁰ Copy inclosed in letter of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, no. 100, June 20, 1785 (*post*, p. 91), marked "No. 9. Copia". The original was inclosed by Treviño in his letter to Miró, June 15 (*ante*, p. 82).

²¹ See *ante*, p. 77.

²² Although this document is dated June 16 it is nevertheless an inclosure (marked "No. 3.") in the letter of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, June 14, 1785 (*ante*, p. 78).

cuerpo de Americanos que se disponen á presentarse delante de ese Fuerte me obligan á enviar á Vm. de refuerzo la segunda Compañía de Granaderos con quarenta y seis plazas á fin de q^a tenga Vm. cien hombres de Guarnicion no obstante de q^a, la buena razon repugna á creer que al mismo tiempo que el congreso sabe que está nombrado por nuestra corte un Enviado,¹³ que yá ha salido de la Havana para arreglar los dos puntos de limites, y navegacion del Rio con dha. Potencia medite apoderarse á viva Fuerza de él terreno comprendido en este Rio hasta los treinta y un grados latitud Norte por q^a, la Ynglaterra, sin derecho alguno se lo cedio en el último tratado de Paz.

Sin embargo de todo para evitar en lo posible ser sorprendido haré á Vm. las prevenciones siguientes.

Enviara Vm. un cabo, y quatro hombres que camparán en la desembocadura del Rio Yasoux, si las aguas altas lo permiten ó en las inmediacion¹⁴, para q^a, siempre que viesen algun numero de Chalanés, ó Lanchones aun que no sean mas que dos baxen á darle á Vm. aviso, procurando, en caso de que no vean alguna piragua adelantada que pueda cortarles, asegurarse de quantos son, y si traen mucha gente. De lo q^a, me despachará Vm. una piragua pequeña con dos hombres, para darme aviso, á la qual ha de seguir otra, antes de parlamentar, luego que tenga Vm. alguna seguridad del número de gentes y barcos chatos que puede Vm. adquirir antes que lleguen apostando alguno á caballo á una, ó dos leguas para tener tiempo de comunicarme la noticia, teniendo escrita ya la carta de modo q. no tenga Vm. mas q^a, poner los números. Dicho destacamento tomará los viveres q. Vm. juzgue conveniente de manera que sea mudado á los doce, ó quinze dias ó el tiempo q. Vm. hallase á proposito.

Como segun la noticia parte de dichas Tropas debe venir por tierra, destacará Vm. tambien otros quatro hombres con un cavo en el parage que Vm. crea á proposito en second Crick, ó mas adelante en su camino de manera q^a, Vm. pueda tener tiempo de darme la noticia, á cuyo efecto es necesario tengan dos caballos, con la circunstancia de que cada quatro dias venga uno á dar á Vm. parte si hay ó no novedad, para q^a, VM, este seguro que existen, á menos que no prefiera Vm. que se mude el Destacam¹⁵ cada quatro dias, en lo que hará lo q. juzgue mas conveniente. Este Destacamento tendrá las mismas órdenes q. el del Rio.

Llegado el caso q^a se presenten á pedir les entregue Vm. el Fuerte, les responderá que tiene Vm. orden mia de proponerles suspendan á lo menos toda hostilidad hasta que me dé Vm. parte, en la inteligencia que yo subiré á parlamentar con ellos, que espero de un instante á otro las resultas de nro. Enviado á Philadelphia, con las q^a, es regular me halle quando lleguen, pues salió de la Havana á principios de Abril, las que evitaren seguramente on rompimiento, y que de todas suertes, como en mi recide la responsabilidad de toda la Provincia, soy yo quien debe unicamente satisfacer á sus demandas; pero si no obstante esta respuesta amistosa insisten en querer atacar á Vm. se defenderá hasta el último extremo, baxo la seguridad, de que con quanta tropa y Milicias pueda juntar subiré á sostenerle á la primera noticia.

La posicion de Vm. es delicada por que tiene poco ó nada q. fiar de los habitantes de ese distrito, y está quasi reducido á contar con la tropa de su Guarnicion; pero como entre ellos hay Realistas q. tienen

¹³ See foot-note 56, ante, p. 79.

naturalm^{te}, aversion á los Americanos, desde luego procurará Vm. hablando á cada uno en particular atraerlos á su partido, y si tiene Vm. la confianza debida en ellos, les propondrá si quieren encerrarse á defender el Fuerte q^o. Vm. facilitará á sus Mugeres é hijos su manutencion en Punta cortada para lo q^o puede de antemano preparar las piraguas, ó Berchas, facilitandoles Vm. el Lanchon q^o. sube, el q^o. de todas maneras ha de procurar Vm. no lo tomen si es posible. Estos voluntarios no han de pasar en numero la mitad de la Guarnicion de Vm. empleandolos solo para el manejo del cañon, ó tiroteo de fusil, sin ponerlos de centinela. Esta operacion de encerrarlos, y de hacer baxar sus mugeres, y niños no ha de ser sino despues que tenga Vm. noticia por los Destacamentos avanzados de que han visto al enemigo.

Todos aquellos de quien Vm. tiene confianza debe emplearlos para q^o. le noticien quanto pase en el Distrito, y quanto sea conducente á que Vm. no sea sorprendido.

En quanto á los demas que han venido de América, y han hecho juram^{to}. de fidelidad quando llegue ya el caso de saber Vm. va á ser atacado publicará un Vando declarando que el que faltase al juram^{to} prestado será severamente castigado: pero al mismo tiempo no los empleará en cosa alguna, exigiendoles solamente los auxilios de viveres, y demas que no sean personales en calidad de comprados.

El Señor Yntend^{te}, envia á Vm. harina con Menestras y sal, la que empleará Vm. para tener un repuesto de Carne para los meses á lo menos, debiendo dicho Respuesto estar spre. existentes en el Fuerte en carne, y Menestras ó Maiz en su lugar, con cuyo solo mantenimiento puede en la necesidad mantenerse el hombre.

Hará Vm. concluir las esplanadas del Hornabeque, recorrer todas las cureñas, y ponerlas en estado, plantar una estacada dentro del foso aunque sea de perchas, que han de tener seis pies fuera de tierra.

Dispondrá Vm. á mas del Almazen de Polvora del Fuerte que haya otro para un repuesto en el Hornabeque.

Se construirán los tiros de Metralla de las balas que se remiten, y las que hay.

Se asolearán los Lanzafuegos, y Estopines se pondrá algun cañon de los de menor calibre en la Estacada baxa, con portas p^a. su uso.

Las reglas generales de esta instruccion no impiden el que por si ponga Vm. en practica quantos medios juzgue conducentes á la mejor defensa del Fuerte, segun las noticias de la mayor, ó menor vecindad del enemigo y si alguna de las prevenciones arriba hechas se hiciere, ó fuere impracticable por las ocurrencias, la cambiará Vm. ó la suspenderá segun mas convenga.

No dudo q^o. tendra Vm. por maxima principal el dexar Lien puesto el honor de nras. Armas teniendo presente q^o. toda defensa que toca en temeraria dá mucho lustre, y honor á quien la sostiene.

Nueva Orleans 16 de Junio de 1785.

ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

XIII. OPINION OF FRANCISCO BOULIGNY, JUNE 16, 1785.²⁴

Dictamen del Teniente Coronel graduado y Sargento Mayor del Regimiento de Ynfanteria de la Luisiana Don Francisco Bouligny.²⁵

²⁴ Seville, Archivo General de Indias: Papeles procedentes de la Isla de Cuba.

²⁵ An account of Bouligny, by Professor Alcée Fortier, is in the *Publications of the Louisiana Historical Society*, vol. II., pt. III. (1900), pp. 16-26. See also French, *Historical Memoirs of Louisiana* (1853), p. 182.

sobre los seis Artículos que en la Junta³⁶ de ayer noche manda el Señor Don Estevan Miró Coronel de este Regimiento y Gobernador de Provincia exponga cada uno su parecer.³⁷

1º No se deve dudar en vista de la reunion y concordancia de las noticias que el Señor Gobernador comunicó ayer noche verificadas ya en parte con la comicion que dicen trae Tomas Green; que los Americanos estan resueltos á pedir y exigir con mano armada, las posesiones sobre este Rio á ellos concedidas por los Yngleses en el ultimo tratado de Paz entre estas dos Naciones. Si no tuviesen intenciones de obrar hostilmente no se dirijirian aqui con semejante demanda pues no deven ignorar que un Gobernador particular no tiene facultades para concederla y que estas solo reciden en la superioridad, á quien era mas natural y devido dirijirse exponiendo las razones en que se figuran fundar su derecho. Si la Comicion que Tomas Green trae de la Georgia de pedir el Fuerte de Natchez es cierta ya no se deve dudar un instante de sus disposiciones hostiles y que estan prontos é inmediatos los dos mil y quinientos hombres que anuncian las noticias para apoyar una demanda irregular intampestiva insultante y que por si sola miro yo ya como hostil.

2º Aun quando no fueran ciertas ni tan vero similes como son las noticias que el Señor Gobernador comunicó á la Junta no se deve perder un minuto en poner en estado de servicio toda la Artillería de la provincia pues en ella esta no solo nuestra principal defensa, sino tambien la unica arma que tenemos ofensiva y defensiva particularmente la gruesa pues que los Americanos no pueden bajar con Cañones que exedan el calibre de seis á ocho libras de bala, lo mas.

3º No solo no se puede ni se deve excusar el gasto de hacer subir de la Balisa³⁸ la Galera para ponerla en estado de obrar, sino que se deven tambien componer inmediatamente las dos Lanchas Cañoneras y construir otras con la mayor prontitud para montar todos los Cañones de grueso Calibre que hay en la Provincia pues en ellos solo veo por lo presente nuestro principal recurso siempre y quando se puedan colocar en la parte superior de Natchez siendo de la ultima importancia cubrir con la mayor prontitud un fuerte guarnecido de veinte Cañones, y entre ellos algunos de calibre grueso y que podrian sernos mui perjudiciales si llegasen á poderarse de ellos los enemigos cuyo objeto miro ser sobre todos de la mayor importancia.

4º De todas las posesiones que S.M. tiene en America esta es la sola que amenazan y pueden atacar los americanos por si sola merece esta Provincia la mayor atencion y mucho mas si se atiende que la naturaleza la ha constituido Barrera y ante moral de la Nueva España contra unos enemigos numerosos, inquietos, y turbulentos y que de la noche á la mañana puede caerlos encima un numero muy crecido de ellos sin que tengamos aquí la menor noticia de su venida, ni preparativos y con la ventaja y prontitud que les da la corriente que tienen á su favor por cuyas razones hallo muy util y preciso pedir auxilios y socorros á la Havana y á nuestro Capitan General haciendole presente que la poblacion de las orillas del Ohio exede ya en el dia el numero de veinte mil almas.

³⁶ See letter of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, June 20, *post*, p. 91.

³⁷ The Balize was near the South East Pass. See Hodder, *Pittman's Mississippi Settlements*, p. 38, and French, *Hist. Mem. of La., V.* 29-30 (*Memoirs of Dumont*).

5º En las circunstancias actueles hallo muy preciso é indispensable que V. S. se coloque en el parage mas comodo para recibir con prontitud las noticias y poder dar sus ordenes a toda la Provincia con mas facilidad como tambien que todas las tropas y fuerzas de la Colonia se pongan en parage de recibir al enemigo dado caso que su designio sea de quererse internar en medio de nuestros Establecimientos con el pretexto de venir á colocarse en los 31 Grados de Latitud que caen mas abajo de la punta cortada.

6º Muy combeniente seria detener los cumplidos que estan proximos á marchar, y recojer los que andan esparcidos en el pais pues son hombres experimentados y la buena conducta honrradez y valor con que se han portado en las ultimas campañas los hace muy utiles en la presente situacion al servicio de S.M.

Esto es quanto alcanso relativamente á las seis questiones que se me manda contextar pareciendome combeniente añadir en consecuencia del ultimo parrafo algunas reflexio[ne]s generales sobre este asunto.

Si los Americanos vienen de mano armada á tomar posesion de los territorios incluso hasta el 31 grado devemos y estamos obligados á no permitirlo y á rechazarlos con la fuerza siendo solo de temer que no llegamos á tiempo de detenerlos mas arriba de Natchez por vivos y prontos que sean nuestros preparativos.

Si los Americanos se atreven á cometer este acto de hostilidad como todo lo indica aunque la razon lo repugna, devemos temer que no cometan otros mayores contra la misma provincia pues quien puede fiarse á la razon y prudencia de hombres que empieza á obrar con tanta sinrazon é irregularidad yo me inclino á creer ó que no haran ningun acto hostil ó que si hacen uno haran otros muchos.

Si los Americanos vienen y tenemos la fortuna de podernos colocar con la gruesa Artilleria en la parte superior de Natchez apoyada y sostenida por un par de Buques con 15 ó 20 Cañones podemos de tenerlos y por poco que la fortuna nos favorezca destruirlos y escarmentarlos y si par mas diligencias que se hagan no podemos llegar a tiempo para cubrir á Natchez podremos á lo menos cubrir la punta cortada, y presentarnos á las inmediaciones de ellos con fuerzas que se verán precisados á respetar y con las que cubriremos los principales establecimientos de la Provincia.

Si los Americanos no tienen preparativos ni intencion ninguna de obrar hostilmente, que inconveniente puede haver en hacerles ver fuerzas y resolucion para contener sus deprabados designios ya sean presentes, ya venideros. Los gastos para un asunto de tanta entidad no se deven economisar mayormente quando la situacion de este pais en qualquier parage que los Americanos fijen sus limites exige por mas promesas y protestaciones que hagan que tengamos en su inmediaciones fuerzas poderosas para contenerlos desde ahora y para siempre.

Nueva Orleans 16 de Junio de 1785.

FRANCISCO BOULIGNY.

XIV. VICENTE MANUEL DE ZESPEDES TO THE CONDE DE GALVEZ,
JUNE 19, 1785.²⁸

Ex^{mo} S^{or}.

Muy S^{or} mio:

La traduccion literal que acompaño á V.E. de un acto²⁹ de la Asamblea de Georgia, manifiesta en mi humilde concepto, con tanta claridad, las miras ambiciosas, y usurpadoras, bien que todavia impotentes, de aquella Colonia, en particular, y de las unidas en g^{ral}, que considero de mi indispensable obligacion exponerlo á la superior penetracion de V.E.; haciendole al mismo tpo pres^{te} que el distrito de Nachez, está comprendido en la Citada Descripcion, y que los mas de los sugetos nombrados por Jueces de Paz, viven actualm^{te}, en el, baxo la proteccion de S.M.; pero debo en Justicia añadir, que se me há informado que algunos de estos, especialm^{te}, los quatro, cuyos nombres vⁿ rayados,³⁰ lexos de haver solicitado, ó admitido semejante nombram^{te}, son opuestisimos á los Americanos, y siendo esto así, el nombrarlos habrá sido un tiro machia-belico de los Georgianos, ó bien p^a, atraerlos á su partido, ó de lo contrario hacerlos sospechosos á la superioridad de la Luisiana, y de ese modo desarraigarlos de aquella Prov^a.

Lo expuesto arriba, y lo que participo á V.E. con N^o. 84^{er} de la confederacion Yndia, me hacen conceptuar que respecto á que S.M. tiene un embiado en la America Suptentrional, conducirá tal vez, al R^o. Servicio, que Yo le comunicára en derechura qualquiera acaecim^{to}. Extraordinario.

En esta intelig^a, sup^o, á V.E. se sirva comunicarme sus or^{ns}, sobre el particular; pues sin ellas no me puedo considerar autorizado, á dar semejante paso.

Participo á V.E. que con esta num^o. y fha, hago todo lo expresado pres^{te}, al Ex^{mo} S^{or}. Miñtro de Yndias.

Dios g^{ue} a V.E. muchos felices años como deseo, y necessito. S^a. Ag^o. de la Florida 19 de Junio de 1785

Ex^{mo} S^{or}. Conde de Galvez

XV. MIRÓ TO THOMAS GREEN, JUNE 19, 1785.³¹

La clase de V.m., la poca instruccion que se le conoce y el genio inquieto que ha manifestado son razones fuertes para que yo no deba creer la autoridad que V.m. supone le ha dado el Estado de la Georgia en las copias³² que ha presentado al Teniente Coronel Don Felipe Treviño

²⁸ From a draft (marked "No. 85"), in the Library of Congress, East Florida Papers, XL. In the marginal summary the date 19 is changed to 18. A draft of an identical letter to Josef de Galvez, minister of the Indies, dated June 19, is in *ibid.*, XLIII, D 1. The original is in the Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid.

²⁹ The Bourbon County Act.

³⁰ Tiempo presente.

³¹ The names underscored in the copy of the act which accompanies the letter are Tacito Gaillard, Sutton Bank, Guillermo MacIntosh, and Benjamin Farrar.

³² A draft of Zéspedes's letter no. 84 here mentioned is in the Library of Congress, East Florida Papers, XL.

³³ Inclosed in letter (no. 199) of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, June 20, 1785. The text here used is that of the copy in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba. It is marked "No. 7^o, Copia". See foot-note 90, *post*, p. 91.

³⁴ See *ante*, p. 76.

Comandante del Fuerte y Distrito de Natchez, y si difiero mandarle prender es por la concideracion que me merece solo el citado Estado con que V.m. se apoya tal vez falsamente aunque estoy autorizado de cualquier manera por ser V.m. un vasallo de S.M. habiendose obligado y prometido al Comandante de este Fuerte Don Carlos de Grand Pré⁸⁰ vivir bajo nuestras sabias Leyes quando V.m. llegó á el en Mayo de mil setecientos ochenta y dos con toda su familia sin pasaporte y como huído de su Patria, pidiendo establecimiento el que le concedi⁸¹ por lo que mando á V.m. que inmediatamente que reciba esta baje á presentarse á esta Capital á fin de entregarme los documentos originales si los tiene, para que despues de examinados y cerciorado y ó que son efectivamente sus firmas las de los representantes de dicho Estado les satisfaga con mi respuesta siendo ya sospechoso en V.m. el mero hecho de no venir á mi directamente y el haber eludido el hacerlo no obstante que se lo propuso el Comandante de este Fuerte pues en un asunto de tanta importancia es patente y claro á la mayor ignorancia que solo el Gobernador de la Provincia es á quien debió V.m. haber presentado los Documentos con que se cree autorizado respecto á que el es quien unicamente puede admitirlos y contestarlos.

Con esta fecha doy orden⁸² al Comandante de este Fuerte para que facilite á V.m. cuantos auxilios pueda necesitar para que baje á esta Ciudad á tratar conmigo directamente estos asuntos.⁸³

Dios Guarde á V.m. muchos años. Nueva Orleans diez y nueve⁸⁴ de Junio de mil setecientos ochenta y cinco. ESTEBAN MIRÓ.
Dn. Thomás Green.

XVI. MIRÓ TO THE CONDE DE GALVEZ, JUNE 20, 1785.⁸⁵

Exmo. Señor.

Muy Sor. mio:

Despues de escrito á V.E. mi oficio No. 198,⁸⁶ he recibido carta del Comandante de Natchez con fecha de 10 del presente,⁸⁷ en que me

⁸⁰ Don Carlos de Grand Pré was commandant of Natchez from July, 1781, to September, 1782, and again from 1786 to 1792.

⁸¹ See Miró's statement in his letter to the Conde de Galvez, June 20, below.

⁸² This document is missing.

⁸³ Davenport says (letter to Governor Elbert, July 17, *post*, p. 105) that on receipt of this letter Green left Natchez and set out for the Indian Nations. For particulars of his conduct, see Treviño's letter to Miró, July 11, *post*, p. 101, from which it appears that he probably left on July 10. Some time afterward he wrote from the Chickasaw country to Governor Elbert, giving an account of his mission to Natchez, but only the wrapper of that letter can now be found in the archives of Georgia. See Elbert's reply, November 9, to be printed hereafter.

⁸⁴ The copy of this letter in Mexico (Arch. Gen. y Púb.: Sección de Hist., tomo 162) appears to be dated June 13, which cannot be correct.

⁸⁵ The original of this letter (no. 199), accompanied by all the inclosures, is in Mexico, Arch. Gen. y Púb.: Sección de Hist., tomo 162 ("Carp^a. No. 3. Div^a. 4^a. del L^o. No. 5.—No. 1"). Copies of the letter and inclosures are in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba, and a copy of the letter is in the same archives, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Luisiana y Florida, estante 86, cajón 6, legajo 14. The texts in Mexico have been used for the letter and all inclosures except the letter of Miró to Thomas Green, June 19, 1785 (*ante*, p. 90).

⁸⁶ June 14, *ante*, p. 78.

⁸⁷ See foot-note 42, *ante*, p. 76.

participa haber llegado el día antes Thomas Green y que se había esparcido en el distrito venia con poderes del Estado de Georgia, para intimar se le entregase el Fuerte, y su Distrito, anunciando ya alguna cosa de consecuencia la carta⁸⁰ que le escribió á su arribo, cuya Traducción acompaña baxo el No. 1^o.

Efectivamente con fha. del quinze me ha despachado el expresado Comand^{te} un Correo, para participarme se había verificado dha. intimación en los terminos que expresa en su carta⁸¹ No. 2. y la respuesta que le dio apuntada solamente en ella, es que siendo un mero Subalterno, y Substituto mio, no se hallaba con facultad para determinar, y responder, para lo que podría pasar á verse conmigo que le daría positivamente una respuesta cathgorica.

Hallará V.E. incluidas las copias que cita Dn. Phelipe Treviño en su ultimo mencionado Oficio baxo sus respectivos numeros. El tercero⁸² comprende la Deliberacion del Estado de Georgia, en que establece todos sus limites.

El quarto⁸³ es la Traducción de otra deliberacion del mismo Estáo, para formar en un distrito de tierra situado en el Misisipi un Condado que debe llamarse de Borbon, señalando sus limites desde la desembocadura del Yason hasta encontrar baxando por el primer Rio los 31 grados latitud Norte, y demarcando toda su extension.

El quinto⁸⁴ es parte de la Ynstruccion dada al referido Thomás Green, para pedir á los Comandantes Españoles los Fuertes, lugares, y Plazas, que puedan caer dentro de los limites del enunciado Condado.

Y el sexto⁸⁵ es la carta del expresado Comisionado al Comand^{te}. de Natchéz, para que evague el Fuerte, ó haga sus objecciones.

Antes de pasar adelante describiré á V.E. las circunstancias de Thomás Green: es un hombre de más de sesenta años, que en Mayo de 1782, procedente de los Estados unidos, baxó por el Rio Cumberland en Barcos Chatos, y se presentó en Natchéz con doce familias casi todas sus cabezas hijos, hiernos y parientes inmediatos suyos, con cerca de doscientos esclavos, solicitando establecerse baxo la dominacion Española, cuya emigracion de su patria executó furtivamente huyendo de las calamidades de la guerra; por lo que les concedí tierras, y quedaron establecidos como Vasallos de S.M. lo que aprobó V.E. en contestacion á mi oficio de 5 de Junio 1782. En el año de 1783 fue el referido Thomás Green procesado por Dn. Phelipe Treviño por haber sido acusado de que suministrava Medallas á los Yndios, y tenia correspondencia con algun fugitivo de Natchéz refugiado en la Nacion Chicachás; pero examinado aquí su proceso, con parecer de mi asesor, le absolví, sirviendole de correccion la prision q^u. padecio merecida con respecto á los indicios de su delito: poco depues, y antes que recibiese yo ninguna orden, para cortar toda comunicacion con los Estados unidos, le permití pasar á arreglar asuntos de familia á Georgia, de donde regresa ahora con la comision arriba referida; siendo de notar que tanto como él es caviloso, pleitista, y alocado, parece el resto de su familia, hijos y Yernos rasonables, y utiles por aplicados al cultivo del Tabaco.

⁸⁰ Green to Treviño, June 12, *ante*, p. 76.

⁸¹ Treviño to Miró, June 15, *ante*, p. 82.

⁸² Part of the act of February 17, 1783. See *ante*, p. 68.

⁸³ Part of the act of February 7, 1785. See foot-note 22, *ante*, p. 70.

⁸⁴ Green's selections from the instructions to the justices of Bourbon County, *ante*, p. 71, and see foot-note 45, *ante*, p. 76.

⁸⁵ See *ante*, p. 76.

Esta descripción ha sido necesaria, para q^o. halle V.E. fundada la carta No. 7^o. que le escribo con motivo de su arribo y demandas, siendo mi principal intencion en evitar darle respuesta alguna, el embarazarlo sobre el partido que ha de tomar y si se conforma en vaxar, antes de enviar correo alguno al expresado Estado de Georgia, tendré tiempo de poner en practica mis operaciones, y tal vez recibir el socorro que V.E. me envíe.

Suplico á V.E. tenga aqui presentes todas las noticias que refiero en mi oficio No. 198, y sus documentos, para que dé el peso que merece á la de haberse esparcido en Natchez desde el arribo de Green que deben venir por tierra mil quinientos hombres de la Provincia de Georgia, y baxar por el Río otro numero considerable, la q^o. coincide con la de McGillibrey, y el nombrado Mauvez, pudiendo ser hija de la confianza q^o. Green, que no puede ignorar la verdad de ella, puede haber hecho á alguno.

En vista de todo, hallandome determinado á ponerme en marcha con la Tropa veterana y la Artilleria competente, no queriendo sin embargo obrar por mi solo dictamen, formé el quinze dell corriente una junta de guerra⁹⁸ con ocho Vocales, cuyos pareceres que conservo, unánimes fueron debia empezar á hacer los gastos necesarios, para emprender mi viage, luego que se verificase la demanda de Green.

Baxo este supuesto se está trabajando con el mayor vigor para poner en estado las dos Lanchas cañoneras de la invencion de V.E. y dos Lanchones, que montaran unos y otros un cañon de á 18: asi mismo he dado providencia suba la Galera que se halla en la Valiza⁹⁹ y monta otro de 24, la que saldrá despues, si por su deterioro no puede hacerlo conmigo.

Aunque en mi oficio No. 198, digo que solo puedo habilitar dos cañones de á cuatro por haber hallado despues en el Bergantin Galvez-town ochocientas valas de este calibre y otra porcion que hoy se van á comprar del de á 18, Seis y 4 en casa de un Negociante podré llevar tres cañones de á 6, y 4 de á 4, con lo que no subire mas Artilleria gruesa que la de los Barcos.

Así mismo juntaré quatro cientos hombres del Regimiento de mi cargo, con motivo de haber detenido las licencias á los cumplidos que me han venido del segundo Batallon.

Por ahora no empleare las Milicias, atento á la pérdida que ocasionaria en sus cosechas, y hasta cersiorarme si son efectivos los dos mil quinientos Americanos que por el Río, y por tierra anuncian las noticias, á cuyo fin pediré á los Capitanes de cada compañía la Relacion de aquellos, que quedando sus familias con apoyo y no expuestos á una evidente miseria, puedan subir.

Tambien voy á mandar vengan de Panzacola dos Piquetes con cinquenta hombres cada uno y dos oficiales; pues, no estando aquella Plaza amenazada por ningun lado, me persuado es debido acudir á la mayor urgencia y si ha llegado su Comandante Dn. Arturo O. Neilly,¹⁰⁰ dispondré venga el Ten^{te}. Coronel Dn Pedro Piernas,¹⁰¹ por q^o. podrá

⁹⁸ See "Dictamen" of Boulogny, June 16, *ante*, p. 87.

⁹⁹ The Balize. See foot-note 77, *ante*, p. 88.

¹⁰⁰ Arturo O'Neill, commandant of Pensacola, 1784 to 1792.

¹⁰¹ On Piernas consult Gayarré, *History of Louisiana, passim*. From May, 1770, to May, 1775, he was commandant of Upper Louisiana. From November, 1782, to June, 1783, he was in command at Natchez.

serme muy útil, y á fin de que en todo evento haya oficial de alguna graduacion y experiencia, que pueda ponerse á la Cabeza de la Provincia.

Tengo en mi idea dos parages que se hallan en el mismo distrito de Natchez, en los quales puedo fortificarme, sin perder la proteccion del Río, con facil retirada por él, el uno á media legua del Fuerte, y el otro á cuatro, ambos antes de llegar.¹⁰³ Es mi proyecto, si nuevas ocurrencias no lo impiden, apostarme en uno de ellos con los citados quinientos hombres, incluso los dos Piquetes de Panzacola para obrar en favor del Fuerte, segun las circunstancias, y llamar, á medida q^e. las noticias vayan aclarandose, á las Milicias resuelto á batirme, aunque se verifique la llegada de los 2500 hombres, persuadido á que mi posicion les causará respeto, y á que los rechasare, si me atacan.

Considéreme pues V.E. al recibo de esta en dha. posicion, esperando en que me socorrerá V.E. lo mas pronto posible con mil hombres á lo menos, de tropa, la Artilleria Municiones, y Fretrechos correspondientes; debiendo rogarle encarecidamente que pues tengo el honor de mandar esta Provincia tres años y medio hace, á satisfaccion de V.E., disponga el envio de tropas de modo que el que venga mandándolas no tenga mas graduacion ni sea mas antiguo Coronel que yo, que lo soy desde 8 de Febrero de 1781.

Por haberme expuesto Dn. Phelipe Treviño, que sus males le obligan á suplicarme substituya otro en aquel mando, pidiendo continuar á sus ordenes, hasta q^e. se tranquilisen estos disturbios hé nombrado al Sargento Mayor Dn. Fran^{co}. Bouligny, que saldrá despues de mañana, ó al otro día¹⁰⁴ con la segunda compania de Granaderos detenida por cinco dias consecutivos de lluvia.

Notará, puede ser, V.E. que no haya hablado de Yndios: la experiencia que su continuo trato me ha dado de la ninguna utilidad que puede esperarse de ellos, y lo costosísimo que es su mas pequeño servicio, me determina á no emplearlos, contentandome solo con que no sean mis enemigos, lo que creo conseguiré, haciendoles valer mucho, aunq^e. se me ofrezcan, mis deseos de conservar su sangre á fin de q^e. cotejen y estimen la diferencia entre otra Dominacion y la nuestra: sin embargo la Nacion Cadós¹⁰⁵ es la única, de quien tal vez me fiaré, admitiendo un corto numero de cinquenta á cien hombres que pueden ser de alguna utilidad, por no haber jamas conocido Yngleses ni Americanos, habiendoseme ofrecido su Gefé, q. acaba de salir de esta con un entusiasmo inexplicable.

Po[r] lo q^e. toca á los ultimos capitulos de la Carta¹⁰⁶ de Treviño No. 2, sobre los siniestros pasos del Ten^{te}. Coronel Gaillard, y los nombrados Ellis, y Sutton Banke manifesto en los números ocho¹⁰⁷ y nueve,¹⁰⁸ mandaré á Dn. Fran^{co}. Bouligny, les aprehenda y forme su proceso, pub-

¹⁰³ In his letter of June 14 Miró says that he intends to take up his position at Pointe Coupée or in the vicinity of Red River (*ante*, p. 81).

¹⁰⁴ Bouligny did not arrive in Natchez until July 23. See his letter to Miró, July 24 (second installment).

¹⁰⁵ The Caddo tribes of Indians occupied the region on Red River, northwest of Natchez. Consult Gatschet, *Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*.

¹⁰⁶ Letter of June 15, *ante*, p. 82.

¹⁰⁷ The manifesto of Ellis, Gaillard, and Banks, *ante*, p. 77.

¹⁰⁸ Statement of Rodriguez, *ante*, p. 85.

licando un Bando¹⁰⁹ en mi nombre, para tranquilizar el resto de aquel distrito.

Dios nuestro Señor guarde á V.E. muchos años. Nueva Orleans 20, de Junio de 1785.

Ex^{mo}. Sor.

B. L. M. de V.E. su mas at^o. Serv^r.

ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

Exmo. Sor. Conde de Galvez.

México 17 de Julio de 1785.

Vease en Junta extraordin^a. de Guerra y RI. Hacienda.¹¹⁰

GALVEZ.

XVII. MIRÓ TO JOSEF DE GALVEZ, JUNE 25, 1785.¹¹¹

Exc^{mo}. Señor.

Muy Señor mio:

Despues de escrito el anterior oficio Número 82¹¹² he recibido carta del Comandante de Natchez con fecha de 15 del presente, que me ha obligado á despachar el Bergantin el Galveztown, que salió el 21 para Veracruz con Don Vicente Folch¹¹³ Teniente del Regimiento de Infanteria de la Luisiana de mi cargo, para llevar el oficio, y documentos, cuyas copias incluyo á V. E., en las que verá las nuevas ocurrencias, y mi resolucion de subir á apostarme á las inmediaciones del Fuerte de Natchez, cuyo viage no podré emprender hasta mediados de Julio proximo, por los pocos obreros de que se puede echar mano para habilitar las Lanchas cañoneras, y haber emperado las aguas que atrasan el trabajo.

Confio será de la aprobacion de S. M. mi ausencia¹¹⁴ de esta capital, y el proyecto meditado que refiero en mi oficio al Capitan General, para conservar estos Dominios, persuadido á que seria culpable la menor negligencia de mi parte, despues de un Fuerte pedido por un Estado vecino, y de las noticias esparcidas de hallarse en marcha tropas para sostener su demanda, siendo tanto mas necesario en mi no perder tiempo, quanto hasta mediado de Agosto no podré llegar á mi proyectada posicion, por razon de la distancia al parage amenazado, y al rigor de la estacion que me obligará á hacer pequeñas jornadas al remo, y contra corriente, y aun así el mayor enemigo que mi imaginacion me presenta

¹⁰⁹ In the article, "Bourbon County", in Rowland, *Mississippi*, I. are printed extracts from a proclamation of Miró, to which is assigned the date June 23, ordering the arrest of Gaillard, Ellis, and Banks. If the date is properly June 23, and not July 23 (the date of Bouigny's arrival in Natchez), the proclamation was not published and enforced until a month later. The arrest did not take place until after Bouigny's arrival, probably on July 26. See Bouigny to Miró, July 30 (second installment).

¹¹⁰ Miró's despatches reached Mexico, July 16, and the junta was held on July 18. See letters of the Conde de Galvez to Miró and to Josef de Galvez, August 2, to be printed hereafter.

¹¹¹ It is no. 83 and is marked "Reservada de Preferencia". The original of this letter is in Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional. A copy is in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Luisiana y Florida, est. 86, caj. 6, leg. 14.

¹¹² In the archives at Seville, *ibid*. It merely transmits to this minister the letter of the same date, with its inclosures, to the Conde de Galvez.

¹¹³ Afterward commandant of Pensacola.

¹¹⁴ As will appear later, Miró did not leave New Orleans. See his letter of August 14, to be printed hereafter.

son las enfermedades que en este tiempo sin fatiga extraordinaria se padecen generalmente en este país.

La irregularidad que experimento en el proceder del referido Estado de Georgia es digna de notar, y puede inferirse que no será extraño obren precipitadamente y contra toda razón; pues en primer lugar parece están destituidos de ella unos representantes que envían á intimar á un Commandante particular entregue un Fuerte, no ignorando que se halla sin ordenes de su Soberano para ello, quando sin esta circunstancia en ningún Capitan general existe la facultad de hacerlo.

En segundo lugar fingen en la Ynstruccion que dan á Thomas Green que ignoran haya en su pretendido Condado de Borbon Fuerte, y Tropa Española,¹¹⁵ quando les es notorio que el de Natchez y su distrito están dentro de los límites que le establecen, y en esta inteligencia, con designio premeditado, han comisionado á Tomas Green cuya aparente ignorancia supone malicia y desco de encontrar pretexto para un rompimiento. Aun quando despues de todo no se presenten las tropas que refieren las noticias, el solo motivo de la fermentacion que fomentaban Tacito Gaillard, Ricardo Ellis, y Suton Bankes, merece la mayor atencion para evitar la perdida de los habitantes en general del mencionado distrito, que sería muy difícil despues de volver al estado floreciente en que oy se halla por el cultivo del Tabaco.

Dios guarde á V. E. muchos años. Nueva Orlean 25 de Junio de 1785.

Excmo. Señor, B. L. M. de V. E. su mas atento servidor,

ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

Excmo. Señor Don Joseph de Galvez.¹¹⁶

XVIII. JOHN GORDON TO GEORGE PROFIT.¹¹⁷

NATCHEZ, June 25, 1785.

Esteemed Friend:

I have purposely omitted some opportunities to write you of late certain news of the above place which were then being spoken of softly, but which are to-day matters of open conversation. Thomas Green, went hence to Georgia, more than a twelvemonth ago, took, as is said, the liberty of presenting a memorial containing the names of various inhabitants of Natchez, petitioning the governor and state council of Georgia to take us of Natchez under their protection, which they graciously conceded to him, and have sent him with the title of lieutenant-colonel to establish a new county beginning at the Yasú River, and thence running down to the Mississippi, as far as the latitude of thirty-one degrees, and thence, east, etc. One Captain Davenport has arrived here. He is one of the four commissioners (Green is one). The other two are coming by way of the [Indian] nations, and are expected any day. At this point, the above-mentioned Captain Davenport has come to get me, and since for lack of a better, I am acting as interpreter of this post, I find myself under the necessity of accompanying them to see the commandant, to whom he must present his

¹¹⁵ Miró probably has in mind the parenthetical phrase occurring twice in the instructions to the commissioners, "if any such there be".

¹¹⁶ Joseph (also written Josef, sometimes José) de Galvez, Marqués de Sonora, the minister of the Indies.

¹¹⁷ Translated from a Spanish copy in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba.

credentials to-morrow. A few people have come down with this captain, among them a doctor¹¹⁸ (a surgeon) and his family. The inhabitants here are more quiet than could be expected. They talk much of erecting a free, sovereign and independent state (if the Spaniards will cede it to them), and are determined under no consideration to become a county of the state of Georgia. It is reported that a thousand families are ready to come down as soon as the boundaries are known. The name of the new county is to be Bourbon. The name of the Congress has not been mentioned as yet, and it is only the state of Georgia which is making the demand. It is not believed among us that anything will be done or can be done for some time. At least you may take for granted that the inhabitants of Natchez will make no movement, since a number of them now talk of moving lower down if they are granted permission. The Georgians have made a code of laws¹¹⁹ for this recently formed county, one of the provisions of which is that no one may possess more than a thousand acres of land, and that all the Spanish decrees and concessions of land be annulled and [the lands] sold for the benefit of the state. He who has lived in possession of land for some time is given the preference of purchase at the rate of a half *peso fuerte* (half a dollar) per acre.¹²⁰ There are still others which it makes me angry to mention. So far as I am concerned, I form no special opinion, but I must say that I shall prefer the Spanish government to the American, for the taxes give me the headache¹²¹ whenever I think of them.

I have been confined lately for seventeen days by the most severe attack of gout. The water has driven me from my first house with part of my effects, which, together with other losses, has been a great detriment to my sales. Captain Davenport, who is now with me, says that this place must of necessity belong to Georgia, and then afterward petition the government to become a free state. I hope that the two commissioners who are coming will bring something more solid after all that we have seen. While writing the above I have been interrupted twenty times. Davenport says that I have made a mistake in some of the laws above mentioned. May God keep us Spanish, with which supplication, I remain, although in great haste, yours,

JOHN GORDON.¹²²

Remember me to all the friends who inquire after me.

George Profit.

¹¹⁸ It has not been discovered who this surgeon was.

¹¹⁹ On February 3, 1785, immediately after passing the Bourbon County Act, the assembly of Georgia passed the following resolution: "Resolved that a Committee be appointed to procure for Mr. Thomas Green such of the laws of the State as are in force and can be had together with the constitution of the same and for the cost of which a draft on the Treasury shall be given by his Honor the Governor in Council." Doubtless the exhibition of these laws by Green gave rise to the idea that a code of laws had been enacted expressly for the government of Bourbon County.

¹²⁰ Compare the Bourbon County Act, *ante*, p. 70.

¹²¹ In the Spanish text the word is "jaquecas".

¹²² The names John Gordon and George Profit appear among the signers to a memorial from the inhabitants of Louisiana inclosed in a letter from Miró to the Conde de Galvez, March 1, 1785. Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba.

XIX. TREVIÑO TO MIRÓ, JULY 4, 1785.¹²³

Muy Sr. mio y mi venerado Gobernador:

En consecuencia del aviso que tengo dado á V.S. de la llegada a este Puerto de D^o. Guillermo Davemport con su familia y demás personas que conduce su chalan con fecha de 23¹²⁴ del pasado en mi oficio n^o. 193¹²⁵ pasados algunos dias que he considerado tiempo suficiente para reconocer la sanidad del referido Davemport y la de dicha su familia procedido del correspondiente examen le he permitido que con ella saliese a tierra en consideracion a la comision y caracter con que se dice venir, como tengo á V.S. noticiado en mi citado oficio; pero no contento con la gracia que le he acordado me ha pedido la misma para tres de los sugetos que vienen con él y que dice acompañarle en su comision, lo que en el modo mas político le he denegado por tres veces distintas que se me ha presentado con la misma súplica diciendome que en la última que siendo los tres sugetos por quien se interesaba personas de la mayor distincion y que autorizaban su comitiva, estrañava no les hiciese el mismo acogimiento que a su persona, pues estava cerciorado que á los sugetos que componian la comitiva de nuestro Embaxador llegado ultimamente á Philadelphia habian sido tratados con la mayor generosidad y urbanidad como era debido,¹²⁶ pero que si las noticias del modo con que se les habia recibido aqui llegaban á saberse (como era natural por una o otra via) por los suyos no dudava que el Gran Congreso se sirviese á la reciproca para con nosotros á lo que le contexté que no mezclandome en asuntos políticos que no me tocava decidir me figuraba no podia tener el menor motivo fundado de quexa por el modo con que lo trataba pues lo distinguia no obstante que aun no me habia hecho ver papel alguno por donde me hiciese constar su caracter y comision sin embargo de habermelo prometido á su llegada lo que era esencialísimo, sin poderle permitir lo dilatase por ser preciso y de mi obligacion instruir á V.S. de todo verdadero y solo modo que no sufriese retardo el asunto de su Comision y que no teniendo V.S. la menor idea de su venida por no haber sido anunciado á tiempo por persona que le precediese o bien con avisos dados en cartas como es costumbre entre todas las Potencias; por esta razon no podia tener sentimiento de V.S. que ignorava aun su llegada y comision no dudando merecerle me disculpase por mi parte pues como súbdito de V.S. y con muy pocas facultades no podia escoderme de las que V.S. (sin preveer este caso) me tenia concedidas sobre el particular comprometiendome lo bastante en tomar sobre mi la libertad que a el y á su familia concedia con lo que pareció quedar satisfecho prometiendome volver al dia siguiente á presentarme todos sus papeles lo que no cumplió (no sé por qué razon) y dudo lo hubiera ejecutado en el dia de hoy a no ser por lo ocurrido de haberme dado aviso una de las espías secretas que tengo de que el referido Davemport de acuerdo con Thomas Green habian resuelto en una conferencia¹²⁷ que tuvieron en el dia de antes de ayer

¹²³ This is no. 197 and is inclosed in letter of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, no. 210, July 22, 1785 (*post*, p. 107), marked "No. 1. Copia".

¹²⁴ Davenport says (letter to Governor Elbert, July 17, *post*.) that he arrived on the 24th.

¹²⁵ Treviño's letter no. 193 is missing.

¹²⁶ It is altogether improbable that Davenport had learned of Gardoqui's arrival in Philadelphia (May 20), and he could certainly know nothing of his reception in New York (July 2).

¹²⁷ Compare Treviño's conjecture (letter of July 11), *post*, p. 101.

en presencia de varias personas volver en este mismo día el dicho Davemport á reiterar su demanda por las gentes que tienen intereses para que les permitiese salir a tierra y que de no concederselo habían determinado tomar el partido de mandarlos salir el mismo, haciendo fuego sobre la Guardia si se les oponia y aunque no he dado entero crédito á esta noticia que me ha sido sin embargo dada por un hombre de toda mi confianza no obstante me ha parecido prudente tomar el partido de hacer conducir á este Fuerte todas las gentes que se hallaban en el referido chalan recojiendoles siete carabinas dos fusiles, y dos pistolas que tenían y se han encontrado cargadas en cuya disposicion los mantendré hasta que V.S. me avise su determinacion.¹²⁸

Con motivo de mi providencia se me ha presentado el dicho Dⁿ Guillermo Davemport entregandome copia de sus instrucciones que son en todo iguales á las de Tomas Green con sola la diferencia de que en ellas se habla con su persona la de Tomas Green, Nicolas Long y Nathaniel Crismas y no con solo la del dicho Green como ha supuesto en las suyas este sugeto por lo que omito dirigirlas a V.S.¹²⁹ Tambien me ha presentado su comision y otros papeles de que incluyo copia para que se imponga V.S. de todo.

Sucesivamente me insinuó el referido Davemport serle sensible la determinacion que habia tomado con las gentes de su chalan á lo que le respondi se tranquilizase pues de ningun modo era por desconfianza que tubiese y si solo por dar cumplimiento á las ordenes que habia recibido de V.S. por la ocasion de Dⁿ. George Fitz Gerard¹³⁰ que acaba de llegar en este día y a tiempo para encumbrirles mi razon diciendole que las ordenes no eran directas por él pues aun no habia tiempo (como lo podia conocer) para la contextacion de V.S. lo que me parece haberle satisfecho.

Este paso me ha parecido tanta mas necesario quanto las gentes que han venido con Tomás Green a quien previne me los presentase inmediatamente para determinar lo que fuese mas conveniente y no habiendo dado cumplimiento á mis ordenes naturalmente por sus consejos cuatro de los sugetos que vinieron con el referido Green y algunos otros que les acompañan cuyo número ignoro han robado en dos dias un negro y dos caballos del ayudante de este fuerte Dⁿ. Esteban Minor otro negro del habitante Juan Ran¹³¹ y una negra de ricardo Luiray¹³² con varios otros caballos de otros habitantes que todos se quexan amargamente sin que me sea posible poner un remedio eficaz á estos males por la situacion del Pais pues aunque he hecho salir en la primera noche al subteniente Dⁿ. Antonio Soler con un cabo y cuatro soldados, con ocho habitantes de confianza indicandole el parage donde me habian informado se recojian de dia distante a cuatro leguas de este fuerte, para que los sorprendiese al amanecer he tenido el desconsuelo que mis medidas no hayan tenido efecto pues no pudieron dar con ellos por mas diligencias que hicieron quedando sin fruto este paso que los

¹²⁸ See Miró's criticism of Treviño's course in this matter (letter to Bouligny, July 16, *post*, p. 104).

¹²⁹ Compare *ibid*.

¹³⁰ George Fitzgerald. See *Mississippi Territorial Archives*, I. 393, 450, and *Amer. State Papers, Public Lands*, I.

¹³¹ The reading of these names is evidently uncertain, since the transcripts vary. Possibly they should be John Row and Richard Swayze, both residents in the Natchez district at this time.

habitantes han mirado y conocido ser una prueba del paternal amor con que son protegidos en nuestro gobierno, permitiendome V.S. le observe que el solo modo de precaver en parte estos robos y piraterias es de castigar con el mayor rigor los sugetos que se descubran haberlos protegido, y facilitado lo que no puede dexar de ser y que haré cuanto esté de mi parte para averiguar.

Por lo demás solo puedo informar a V.S. que los habitantes permanecen bastante quietos sin tomar a lo que parece interés por ningun partido prefiriendo (a lo que dan á entender) nuestro dulce gobierno a todo otro ansiosos de que su suerte sea decidida, que es cuanto puedo noticiar á V.S. en esta ocasion.

Celebraré merezca la aprobacion de V.S. el modo con que me he manejado hasta ahora en los presentes asuntos del distrito contemplandome feliz y satisfecho si he podido conseguir el complacer a V.S. sola cosa que anhelo, y que me sacrificaré por obtener.

Deseo á V.S. la mas perfecta salud y pido á Dios guarde la importante vida de V.S. m^a. a^a.

Natchez 4 de Julio de 1785. B.L.M. de V.S. su mas atento servidor y súbdito,

PHELIPE TREVIÑO.

Sr D^o. Esteban Miró,

XX. STATEMENT OF STEPHEN MINOR, JULY 10 [?], 1785.¹³²

I, the undersigned, declare that on Saturday last, in the visit which Captain Davenport made me, he told me that on the preceding day he had been at a dance which was given at the house of Job Corry,¹³³ a resident of the district, and that the guests had asked him the following questions:

First, some of them asked him with what intentions he came to the district and what were his purposes. To which he replied that he had come to demand the fort. In the second place, being asked by others with regard to his idea relative to the forces of the place, whether he believed it impossible to take it and whether he did not believe it could be taken by force of arms, he replied that on the contrary he judged it quite possible, as he presumed there was no place that could not be taken. Upon this reply the majority assured him unanimously that if he should command them they were ready to attack it with all their might. To these he replied that he had no idea of committing any act of hostility.

I declare also that the said Captain Davenport told me that since his arrival in this district all the inhabitants who have visited him have questioned him upon the same subject, but that his replies have given them very little satisfaction, as he said to some that the fort could be taken by strategem, to others that he actually had forces on the way, and to others that they need have no fear but might continue to cultivate their lands as heretofore; in other words, that he had given them as a reply the first idea that occurred to him. At the same time he

¹³² Translated from a copy (marked "Traduccion número 2.º") inclosed in letter (no. 211) of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, July 22, *post*, p. 108. The original was inclosed in letter of Treviño to Miró, July 11, *post*, p. 101.

¹³³ The name appears usually as Corey. See *Amer. State Papers, Public Lands*, I.

begged me to inform Señor Treviño of this so that he would not take seriously or become alarmed at his replies, and to assure him that he used this means only the better to conceal from the inhabitants themselves his real purposes.¹³⁴

That on the Sunday following, when he was again in company with Captain Davenport, the conversation fell not only upon the demand which the state of Georgia had made of this district but also upon the proceeding of Mr. Green relative to it. With regard to this matter he told me that when the governor of Georgia and the assembly of representatives decided to send the four commissioners to solicit and fix the boundaries between the province of Georgia and the Spanish possessions, they had entrusted to these envoys a certain number of blank commissions¹³⁵ which they were to fill in with the names of officials agreeable to the inhabitants, in order to form a battalion for the defense of the country; and as these commissions were deposited in the hands of Mr. Green he had filled one in with his own name as colonel, without the knowledge or participation of Captain Davenport or any one else.

The aforesaid Captain Davenport also said to me that if the governor agreed to treat with him upon the subjects which had been confided to him and upon which he had authority, he would have the honor to visit him and communicate to him all his papers.

And finally that after he had discoursed a long time upon the matter, the aforesaid captain said to him that the Americans looked upon this country as their own, as it had been granted to them by England, and consequently they were determined to take it sooner or later.

STEPHEN MINOR.

XXI. TREVIÑO TO MIRÓ, JULY 11, 1785.¹³⁶

Muy Señor mio y mi venerado Gobernador:

Conseguente á lo que V.S. me tiene prevenido en su oficio¹³⁷ de 21 del Pasado mandandome observar el modo de proceder de Tomás Green luego que recibiese la carta de V.S. que apertoria me incluyo V.S. para que se la entregase, previniendome V.S. le diese aviso sin perdida de tiempo del partido que tomase el referido Tomás Green: devo decir á V.S. que conociendo á fondo el caracter orgulloso de dicho Green, previne á la persona conductora de la carta observase el pormenor de acciones y palabras que el citado Gren produjese con[cl]uida la lectura de su carta, para referirmelas sin quitar ni poner advirtiendole que aparentando no hacer alto en cuanto dixese y sin entrar en contextacion alguna con él le pidiese una respuesta para comprobar con ella haber dado cumplimiento á mi encargo. El que ha desempeñado la mencionada persona á mi satisfaccion, refiriendome que luego que entregó la carta al dicho Green, le preguntó este quien se la habia dado y respondiendole que yo dixo estrañava que el sobreescrito solo decia á Tomás Green habitante de Natchez y concluyendo de leerla dice que el color inmutado y colérico prorrumpió en ex-

¹³⁴ Compare letter of Davenport to Bouligny, July 30, to be printed hereafter.

¹³⁵ See Treviño to Miró, July 11, *post*, p. 103, foot-note 141.

¹³⁶ Inclosed in letter (no. 211) of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, July 22, 1785, *post*, p. 108. It is no. 202 and is marked "Número 1. Copia". There is another copy among the Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba in the same archives.

¹³⁷ The letter of June 21 from Miró to Treviño is missing.

presiones las mas fuertes sin objeto determinado concluyendo con decir le parecia haberme hablado con bastante claridad y hecho constar suficientemente por los papeles que me habia presentado, su comision y el caracter con que se hallaba, pero que pues se dudaba de ello él lo haria conocer de otro modo¹²⁸ finalizando con esto su discurso á lo que la persona le dixo le diese una respuesta que debia volverme, y le respondió me advirtiese que se prepararia para baxar á esa capital, y que el dia siguiente pasaria á verme lo que no habiendose verificado en el término de tres dias, ni podido saber en este tiempo la ocupacion del mencionado Tomás Green hasta el dia de ayer que se divulgó la especie de que habia marchado del distrito, y preparandome para hacer la averiguacion mas exacta a fin de avisarlo á V.S. con seguridad, ha venido el dia de hoy el que se dice su compañero en el encargo y comision Dⁿ. Guillermo Davemport de quien tengo á V.S. hablado en mis anteriores oficios y me ha dicho venir á noticiarme la partida del Coronel Tomas Green (así lo nombran) creyendo ser su deber darme este aviso, lo que habia sabido el dia antes que el referido Green en el momento de su partida, paso á verlo para arreglar con él cuentas particulares y haciendo estudio de no parar la consideracion le contexté que sin el nos pasaríamos¹²⁹ . . . y que si sabia la razón que habia obligado al referido Thomás Green á emprender un viaje tan precipitado retirandose sin pasaporte mio, a lo que me satisfizo se persuadia era en consecuencia de las ordenes que tenia para ello de sus Jefes, le retiré si le habia confiado su destino y las personas que le acompañaban en su viaje, y me respondió que segun le habia dicho se dirigia á la Capital de Georgia y sin otra compañía que su negro de confianza con lo que mudé de conversacion porque no se presumiese me inquietava de ello, no quedandome género de duda en que este paso del referido Green ha sido por consejo¹³⁰ del dicho Davemport; este es el partido tomado por Thomás Green, de resultas de haber recibido la carta de V.S. y cuantas noticias puedo dar a V.S. por la presente en este asunto, de lo que podrá V.S. tirar las consecuencias que su prudencia le dicte.

Con este motivo debo avisar á V.S. he sabido por una de mis espías de confianza que hace tres dias hubo una gran fiesta (no sé si dada al propósito) en casa del habitante nombrado Job Corry en la que se halló Dⁿ. Guillermo Davemport, que aprovechando el momento en que conoció hallarse ebrio[s] cuasi todos los presentes, llamandose la atencion prorrumpió diciendoles que no habiendo tenido su comision el debido efecto y la satisfaccion que se prometia se veia precisado á tomarsela por sí mismo, obrando en otros términos que los que se habia propuesto seguir y que en consecuencia tenia pensado tomar este fuerte por sorpresa ó estratagema por lo que contava con ellos persuadido no habrian olvidado lo que debian á su amada patria y compatriotas, no dudando un momento se les uniesen y decidiesen á una empresa que tanto les interesaba y conviniendo con sus ideas la mayor parte de los concurrentes, les dió las gracias por su buena disposicion y se retiró asegurandoles les haria saber sus disposiciones lo que hasta ahora no ha tenido otras resultas que el haberse dirigido el referido Dⁿ. Guillermo

¹²⁸ Compare Miró to Bouligny, July 19 (first letter), *post*, p. 106.

¹²⁹ Both copies indicate here an apparent lacuna.

¹³⁰ Compare Treviño to Miró, July 4, *ante*, p. 98.

Davenport al Ayudante de este Fuerte D^a. Esteban Minor explicandose con él en los términos que hará ver á V.S. la declaracion de este oficial que acompaño á V.S. adjunta; igualmente acompaño á V.S. la copia de uno de los despachos o comisiones¹⁰¹ que trae consigo D^a. Guillermo Davempont, y me ha hecho ver impresos para los oficiales del batallon de Milicias que deben formar en este Condado de Borbon.

Este manejo del citado Davenport me lo hace cada dia mas sospechoso sin que por esto mude la idea que de él tengo formada de hombre de capacidad y travesura; pero su conducta me parece haberme autorizado lo bastante para arrestarlo lo que no he hecho por no saber si complaceré á V.S. en ello, como por considerar este asunto delicado, respecto al caracter de enviado con que se dice estar autorizado este sugeto por lo que me he propuesto disimular lo que me sea posible fingiendo ignorar todo y vivir con la mayor precausion hasta la llegada del Teniente Coronel D^a. Francisco Bouligny que con arreglo á las instrucciones de V.S. obrando con mayor libertad arregle los asuntos presentes.

Debo noticiar á V.S. haber sabido por algunos sugetos de mi confianza que el Teniente Coronel Tácito Gaillard, tiene escrito al Gran Congreso¹⁰² con la mayor libertad sobre los asuntos presentes de este distrito y hecho una representacion la mas fuerte en nombre de todos los habitantes que ha pretendido hacer firmar á los mas principales, y en lo que efectivamente han consentido algunos (segun me han informado) cuyo número y nombres ignoro como los términos en que está concebida su representacion confirmandome esta noticia, el aviso que me ha dado Guillermo Vousdan¹⁰³ Agrimensor de este puesto que dice haber pasado á su casa el referido Tácito Gaillard solicitandole á que firmase en la dicha representacion y pidiendole igualmente el plano de este distrito; pero habiendose denegado á consentir en uno ni otro, segun dice llegó el dicho Tácito Gaillard á ofrecerle una suma por que le entregase el citado plano lo que le rehusó igualmente; Expongo á la penetracion de V.S. el pormenor de estas noticias para que pueda V.S. tomar con tiempo sus medidas siendo las solas de consideracion que he podido saber desde el último aviso que tengo dado á V.S. que hallandose impuesto de todo con su conocido talento decidirá lo que sea mas conveniente.

Por lo demás el Comun del Pueblo parece permanecer con bastante quietud que es cuanto puedo avisar á V.S. en esta ocasion.

Deseo á V.S. la mas perfecta salud y pido á Dios guarde la importante vida de V.S. muchos y felices años. Natchez 11 de Julio de 1785. B.L.M. de V.S. su mas atento servidor y súbdito,

FELIPE TREVIÑO.

Sr. D^a. Esteban Miró.

¹⁰¹ See Minor's statement, *ante*, p. 100. The blank commission translated into Spanish and certified by Minor, is inclosure no. 3 in letter (no. 211) of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, July 22, *post*, p. 108.

¹⁰² A limited search has been made for this petition among the papers of the Continental Congress, but without success. Neither can any reference be found to it in the *Journals*.

¹⁰³ A brief account of Vousdan is in Rowland, *Mississippi*, II. 887.

XXII. MIRÓ TO BOULIGNY, JULY 16, 1785.¹⁴⁴

Contexto al oficio de D^o. Felipe Treviño su fecha 4 de Julio n^o 197 que he recibido las dos copias que le ha entregado D^o. Guillermo Davemport: habiendo conservado en su poder otras que por ser iguales á las que presentó Thomás Green no me remite¹⁴⁵ las que me dirigirá V.m. pues en esta secretaría en donde deben parar siendo del caso que conste las diferencias de las del citado Green en nombrarse solo Gobernador.

No ha hecho bien el haber arrestado en el fuerte la comitiva del referido Davemport pues que me persuado estaran ya libres respecto a haber yo ya escrito podian desembarcar del Chalan, la conversacion¹⁴⁶ que supo se tuvo entre él y Thomás Green debia haber le solamente inclinado á aumentar la Guardia que observava el Chalan y si Davemport le hubiese representado sobre esta novedad decirle el motivo porqué por lo tanto se lo hara V.M. saber al referido Davemport reconvinendolo de mi parte sobre dicha conversacion y que espero no me dara ningun motivo de creer quiera cometer alguna hostilidad que sabré contener debiendo haber considerado que el comandante no podia haber obrado de otra manera en la detencion de su chalan, respecto a las ordenes que tenia mias ni yo podia distinguirle en ellas pues jamás entró en mi idea su venida.

Así mismo le hará V.M. saber que el presentar solamente copias de los documentos que le autoricen a ser recibido en ese distrito lo miro desde luego como un desprecio á la Nacion Española y un proceder nunca vista no solo por una comision como la suya perteneciente á un oficial subalterno; pero ni tampoco en ningunos embaxadores y así le dira V.M. que debe entregarle los originales para que yo los vea y examine si no quiere tomarse el trabajo de baxar á presentarlos que me vistos por mí y examinados daré la respuesta conveniente que me persuado satisfará a los Señores Estados de Georgia.

Le hara V.m. ver tambien que noto una diferencia entre las copias¹⁴⁷ que entregó á D^o. Felipe Treviño y la comision que á su arribo manifestó á este Comandante trahia esta se reducía á estar autorizado para señalar los limites conjuntamente con oficiales españoles y aquellos condecoran Juez de Paz del Condado de Borbon con instrucciones para su manejo sin que halla cláusula alguna que le faculte para demarcar limites con oficiales españoles. Quando no fuese debida la presentacion de documentos originales esta sola circunstancia me moveria á exijirlos, por lo tanto si no se conforma á enviarlos o á baxar con ellos le prevendrá V.m. salga del distrito con toda su comitiva dandole un corto término de algunos dias y si rehusase uno y otro lo mandará V.m. prender y me lo remitirá con toda seguridad, en cuanto á los demás que le han acompañado los remitirá V.M. en el citado caso si tubiese alguna sospecha de ellos, pudiendo dexar aquellos de quienes no hubiese y que por ser solamente remeros se hubiesen empenado á trabajar en algunas haciendas.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ Inclosure no. 2 in letter (no. 210) of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, July 22, *post*, p. 107.

¹⁴⁵ See Treviño to Miró, July 4, *ante*, p. 98.

¹⁴⁶ See *ibid*.

¹⁴⁷ The distinction which Miró makes is between the terms of the act of February 7 and the more definite instructions of February 11.

¹⁴⁸ On receipt of Treviño's letter of July 11 Miró ordered more stringent measures to be taken. See the three letters of July 19, *post*, pp. 106-107.

Apruebo en todo lo demas la conducta de D^a. Phelipe Treviño y V.m. procurará como prender á los ladrones que me cita haciendoles sumaria si los coge con la cual los hara conducir á esta Capital. Dios guarde a V m. m^a. a^a.

Nueva Orleans 16 de Julio de 1785.

ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

Sr. D^a. Francisco Bouligny.

XXIII. WILLIAM DAVENPORT TO SAMUEL ELBERT.¹⁴⁹

NEAR FORT PANMURE 17th, July 1785

Sir

I arrived here by Water from the falls of Ohio, the 24th of June and found that part of the Country which forms the County of Bourbon, in possession of the Spaniards, and under the immediate command of Lieu^t. Col: Traveno one of his most Catholick Majesties Officers which made it necessary that I should wait upon that Gent^l relative to my Business, who informed me he could not confer with me, neither permit me to Execute my Instructions, untill he first received orders from Gov^r Miro, and further informed that the men who rowed the Boat with four Gentlemen who accompanied me could not be permitted to land untill they had rode currentine a few days, who remained untill the 4th. of July: when an Officer's Guard call'd upon them and march'd them to the fort where they were immediately confind, and obliged to sleep in the Calaboose, much inferior to our Dungeons.¹⁵⁰ I am at a loss to account for this procedure, unless it was from the imprudent conduct or measures taken by M^r. Green who Arrived some days before me.

It is with pain I find myselfe obliged to acquaint you with the particulars of his proceedings, Viz. Upon his arrival without waiting on the Commandant who had full possession of this Country, endeavoured to Assemble the Inhabitants, in order to appoint Inferior officers under him shewing a Commission filled in his name as Col. of the County, then calling on those Gentlemen, mentioned for Majestraits that he might administer the Oath of Office to them,¹⁵¹ knowing that our Instructions say not less than two shall proceed to that Business, which has not only thrown the People into a confused Commotion, but they say they would of choice remain under the present Government, than be subject to any Authority which comes through him.¹⁵²

Gov^r. Miro wrote him a letter¹⁵³ upon receipt of which, he set out for the Indian Nations, without answering his letter, a copy of which I have sent you.

Since his departure the people are become reconciled and wait contented for the result.

¹⁴⁹ Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, bundle marked "Foreign Affairs, 1785".

¹⁵⁰ Compare Treviño's letter of July 4, *ante*, p. 98, and Bouligny's letter to Miró, July 25 (second installment).

¹⁵¹ Compare Treviño's letter of June 15, *ante*, p. 82.

¹⁵² See the manifesto of Ellis, Gaillard, and Banks, *ante*, p. 77.

¹⁵³ The letter of June 19. See foot-note 88, *ante*, p. 91, and compare Treviño's letter of July 11. The copy of Miró's letter to Green, which Davenport says he incloses, could not be found in the archives of Georgia.

Col. Traveno informs me in a few days he expects Lieu^t. Gov^r. Bouleny, through whome he expects Business will be Settled, untill which time matters rest.

I have the Honor to subscribe
myselfe y^t. Ob^d. St.

W. DAVENPORT

His Excellency
Sam^l. Elbert.

XXIV. MIRÓ TO BOULIGNY, JULY 19, 1785.¹⁵⁴

Por la carta de D^o. Felipe Treviño de 11 del corriente numero 202 quedo enterado de haber salido de ese distrito Thomas Green: V.m. sabe todas las noticias que yo he recibido de que estaban tropas americanas en marcha por tierra dirigiendose allí; es pues muy conveniente que V.m. indague cuanto le sea posible si la expresion de Thomas Green de que vendrá de otro modo¹⁵⁵ puede contraerse á que haya gente de armas apostada con la que piensa presentarse á fin de darme aviso.

Dios guarde á V.M. m^a. a^a. Nueva Orleans 19 de Julio de 1785.
ESTEBAN MIRÓ.

Sr. D^o. Francisco Bouligni.

XXV. MIRÓ TO BOULIGNY, July 19, 1785.¹⁵⁶

En oficio número 202 D^o. Felipe Treviño me dice que la mayor parte de los concurrentes en el Combite del habitantes Job Corris convinieron en las ideas de tomar ese fuerte que les manifestó D^o. Guillermo Davenport de que en otro oficio de hoy hablo á V.m.

Aunque me es doloroso el perjuicio que ha de resultar á ese distrito en general de promover una causa criminal contra ellos: No es ya posible poder disimular, y así hará V.m. las diligencias de aprender á los culpados en esta proyectada sedicion y formarles su causa con arreglo á ordenanzas para que sean puestos en consejo de guerra ordinario: sin embargo si en la causa formada á Davenport no resultase ninguno culpado y estuviese V.m. plenamente persuadido, que solo convinieron en el calor del vino, y estando ebrios, habiendo despues hasta el recibo de esta que habrá pasado un mes comportadose con tranquilidad sin haber celebrado junta alguna ni repétido su promesa de unirse al citado Davenport, dexo á la prudencia de V.m. obrar del modo que le pareciese, hasta sufocar el asunto si lo cree mas conveniente al servicio de S.M. y bien del distrito en general.¹⁵⁷

Dios guarde á V.m. m^a. a^a.

Nueva Orleans 19 de Julio de 1785.

ESTEBAN MIRÓ.

Sr. D^o. Francisco Bouligni.

¹⁵⁴ Inclosed in letter (no. 211) of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, July 22, 1785. It is no. 1 and is marked "Copia número 4^o".

¹⁵⁵ Green's statement was, according to Treviño, that "él lo haria conocer de otro modo". See *ante*, p. 101 (letter of Treviño to Miró, July 11).

¹⁵⁶ Inclosed in letter (no. 211) of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, July 22, 1785. It is no. 2 and is marked "Copia número 5^o".

¹⁵⁷ In his letter (no. 249) to the Conde de Galvez, November 10, to be printed in our next number. Miró puts a strained interpretation upon his instructions to Bouligny relative to the trial of Davenport. See also his letter (no. 99) of same date to Bouligny, *ibid*. The explanation of this attitude is found in the criticism of Miró by the Conde de Galvez (letter of September 22, *ibid*.).

XXVI. MIRÓ TO BOULIGNY, JULY 19, 1785.¹²⁸

Es indispensable tomar la providencia que merece el atrevimiento de D^o. Guillermo Davemport de haber segun me dice D^o. Felipe Treviño en su oficio número 202 en el Convite del habitante Job Corrys¹²⁹ prorumpido que pues no tenia su comision el debido efecto y la satisfaccion que se prometia se veia precisado á tomarsela por si mismo obrando en otros términos que los que se habia propuesto seguir, y que en consecuencia tenia pensado tomar ese fuerte, por sorpresa ó estratagema induciendo á aquellos habitantes á que se le uniesen. A fin de no obrar con precipitacion, y que nunca tenga el Estado de Georgia motivo justo de quexa, juntará V.m. en ese fuerte á cuatro o seis de los habitantes de mas juicio que se hubiesen hallado en el referido convite, y haciendolos entrar uno despues de otro en un cuarto separado por medio de dos intérpretes, tomará V.m. á cada uno de ellos las declaraciones necesarias á averiguar si prorumpió ó no D^o. Guillermo Davemport en las expresiones arriba citadas. Observará V.m. que á medida que los declarantes vayan evacuando sus respectivas declaraciones, se separen á uno de los parages del Fuerte, sin que por el menor pretexto salga alguno hasta que todo esté concluido, y si Davemport resultase criminal, antes de salir los declarantes del fuerte, y sin que se transpire la menor cosa, lo arrestara V.m. en uno de los cuartos decentes del Fuerte con centinela de vista y le formará V.M. con arreglo á lo prevenido en las reales ordenanzas en las causas contra oficiales el correspondiente proceso el que concluido me lo enviará V.m. con el reco.¹³⁰ Dios guarde á V.m. m^o. a^o.

Nueva Orleans 19 de Julio de 1785.

ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

Sr. D^o. Francisco Bouigny.

XXVII. MIRÓ TO THE CONDE DE GALVEZ, JULY 22, 1785.¹³¹

Exmo Sr.—Muy Sr mio:

La carta¹³² adjunta del Comandante de Natchez impondrá a V.E. de lo ocurrido entre él y D^o. Guillermo Davemport y mi respuesta¹³³ de lo que he providenciado sobre este asunto: Los documentos¹³⁴ que acompañan baxo n^o 3 y 4 comprehenden el nombramiento de Jueces de Paz en

¹²⁸ Inclosed in letter (no. 211) of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, July 22, 1785. It is no. 3 and is marked "Copia número 6".

¹²⁹ See Treviño's letter of July 11, *ante*, p. 101, and the statement of Stephen Minor, *ante*, p. 100.

¹³⁰ On the action taken in consequence of this and the preceding letter see Bouigny's letter to Miró, August 10 (next installment), and the letter of Long, Davenport, and Christmas to Governor Elbert, September 13, *ibid*.

¹³¹ Copies of this letter (no. 210) and its inclosures, all inclosed in letter (no. 95) of Miró to the Marqués de Sonora (Josef de Galvez), July 22, 1785, are in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Aud. de Santo Dom., Luis. y Flor., est. 86. caj. 6. leg. 14.

¹³² Treviño to Miró, July 4, *ante*, p. 98.

¹³³ Letter of Miró to Bouigny, July 16, *ante*, p. 104.

¹³⁴ No. 3 is the commission to Green, Long, Davenport, and Christmas (February 8, 1785) empowering them or any two of them to administer the oath to the other justices, and prescribing the oath. See *ante*, p. 71. No. 4 is a Spanish translation of the act of February 7, 1785.

varios habitantes de Natchez y la deliberacion para establecer el condado de Borbon que en sus últimos párrafos se diferencia de la copia¹⁶⁵ que presentó Thomas Green inclusa en mi oficio nº 199¹⁶⁶ bajo el número 4^o.

Es digno de notar que los representantes del Estado de Georgia afectando ignorar en la instruccion dada a Tomás Green¹⁶⁷ (que remití á V.E. con el oficio arriba citado) que haya Fuertes ni Plazas Españolas en el pretendido Condado de Bordon, nombren Jueces de Paz de él á Jacito Gaillard, Sutton Banks y los demas conociendolos por vecinos del distrito que creen pertenecerlos. Este en mi concepto es el mayor indicio de que el referido estado busca un pretexto para el rompimiento.

Así mismo mandan que los dichos Jueces de Paz tomen el juramento de fidelidad a todas las personas del dicho condado que no hubiesen sido proscriptas con la circunstancia que sus nombres sean enviados lo mas tarde en el curso de este año al Gobernador de la Georgia¹⁶⁸ esto prueba que ó ellos estaban seguros que á la primera insinuacion se les entregaria el expresado distrito o que es un asunto que de cualquier modo debe terminarse segun dichas ordenes.

La penetracion de V.E. podra mejor distinguir lo que se debe esperar y darme sus ordenes en consecuencia.

Dios guarde á V.E. m^{te}. a^{te}. Nueva Orleans 22 de Julio de 1785.

Exmo Sr. B. L. M. de V.E. su mas atento servidor,

ESTEBAN MIRÓ.

Exmo Sr. Conde de Galvez.

XXVIII. MIRÓ TO THE CONDE DE GALVEZ, JULY 22, 1785.¹⁶⁹

Exmo Señor—Muy Sr mio:

Con fecha de 11 del presente me comunica D^o. Felipe Treviño lo que V. E. verá en la adjunta copia de su carta número 202 y sus documentos¹⁷⁰ a que he contextado en tres oficios separados cuyas copias acompañan baxo los números 4, 5, y 6 enteraran a V. E. de mis providencias en vista de lo ocurrido.¹⁷¹

Con motivo de esta novedad y habiendo llegado el Teniente Coronel D^o. Pedro Piernas con los cien hombres que pedí al Gobernador de Panzacola, he dispuesto salga la primera compañía de Granaderos á

¹⁶⁵ See foot-note 45, *ante*, p. 76.

¹⁶⁶ June 20, *ante*, p. 92.

¹⁶⁷ Inclosure no. 5 in letter (no. 199) of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, June 20, *ante*, p. 92. See *ante*, p. 71, and foot-note 45, *ante*, p. 76.

¹⁶⁸ See the provision in the Bourbon County Act, *ante*, p. 71.

¹⁶⁹ This letter (no. 211) and its inclosures are in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Aud. de Santo Dom., Luis, y Flor., est. 86, caj. 6, leg. 14. They were all inclosed in a letter (no. 96) of Miró to Josef de Galvez, July 22. There are two other letters of the same date (nos. 97 and 98) from Miró to Josef de Galvez, which inclosed extracts from newspapers relating chiefly to the navigation of the Mississippi. One of the extracts (from the *Jamaica Gazette*, May 7) related to rumors concerning Natchez.

¹⁷⁰ The statement of Stephen Minor, *ante*, p. 100, and the form of militia commission mentioned, *ante*, p. 101.

¹⁷¹ The three letters to Bouligny, July 19, *ante*, pp. 106-107.

reforzar el fuerte de Natchez a fin de atajar la fermentacion de aquel distrito y para poder prender y contener á los culpados de sedicion.

Continúo siempre en los preparativos resuelto á subir á fin de Agosto o principio de Septiembre segun el estado de salud de la tropa aun cuando no reciba ninguna noticia mas sobre las ideas de los Americanos, y antes si tengo aviso que se acercan á hostilizar; pues el haber desaparecido Tomás Green con la amenaza de que volveria de otro modo,¹⁷² mas parece corrobora que destruye las anteriores noticias de estar resueltos los Americanos á tomar por fuerza el expresado fuerte.

V. E. con sus superiores luces podrá darme sobre el asunto las ordenes que crea mas convenientes al servicio de S. M. descando sean de la aprobacion de V. E. las disposiciones que mientras he tomado.

Dios guarde á V. E. m^{te}. a^{te}. Nueva Orleans 22 de Julio de 1785.

Exmo Señor B. L. M. de V. E. su mas atento servidor,

ESTEBAN MIRÓ.

Exmo Señor Conde de Galvez.

XXIX. THE CONDE DE GALVEZ TO ZESPEDES, JULY 23, 1785.¹⁷³

El Gobernador interino de la Nueva-Orleans acaba de comunicarme haberse solicitado por parte de un Diputado del Congreso de la Georgia la entrega del Fuerte de Natchez, que conquistaron las Armas de ñro soberano sobre el Rio Misisipi en la prox^{ma}. pasada guerra a los Yngleses, creiendo pertenecer aquel distrito a los estados Unidos de la America por haberselo cedido la Corte de Londres en sus ultimos tratados de Paz.

Con ésta novedad, y la de saber tambien por varias partes D^{no}. Esteban Miró que del referido estado de Georgia, y el de Virginia han vaxado hasta 2500 hombres de tropa situandose a la altura del Rio ohio, (quizas con intento de sobstener a la fuerza su demanda) se ha prevenido igualm^{te}. dicho Gefé para todo acontecimiento, pidiendome algun socorro; y Yo impongo a V. S. de la citada ocurrencia para que enterado de ella pueda assi mismo precaberse, y estar por su parte a la mira de las operaciones de los Americanos por lo que sobreviniese, y para participarme tan oportunam^{te}. como le sea posible qualesquiera mobim^{to}. ó resolucion, que V. S. llegue á entender meditasen contra nras Posesiones en ambas Floridas, y conozca merece trasladarse a mi conocim^{to}. sin retardo.

Dios gñe á V. S. m^{te}. a^{te}. Mexico 23 de Julio de 1785.

EL C^{do}. DE GALVEZ.

Sor. D^{no}. Vicente Manuel de Zespedes.

[Indorsement:]

Mexico 23^{ra} de Julio de 85

Del Ex^{mo}. Señor Virrey. Conde de Galvez

Context^{da}. en 3. de Henero de 86.

¹⁷² See *ante*, pp. 101-103, 106 (letter of Treviño to Miró, July 11, and Miró to Boulogny, July 19, first letter).

¹⁷³ Library of Congress, East Florida Papers, XXXIX., M. 3. This is marked no. 27.

¹⁷⁴ Above the figures 23 Zespedes has written 26, and below the following endorsement: Nota, En el Dup^{do}. es 26 la fha.

XXX. THE CONDE DE GALVEZ TO GARDOQUI, JULY 24, 1785.¹⁷⁵

Mui *Sor. mio*:

Desde mui poco despues de ajustada la paz corrieron varias voces vagas en la prov^a. de la Luisiana de que los Americanos pensaban hacerse dueños del distrito de Natchéz por creerlo comprehendido en los Territorios cedidos p^r. los Yngleses en virtud de sus Tratados con los Estados Unidos.

En los ultimos días de Mayo y hasta mediados de Junio proximo pasado se avivaron mas estas especies, y recibio el Gov^{or}. de aq^a. Prov^a. noticias contextes y fidedignas de diversos parages que no solo confirmaban las prim^{as}. sino añadian hallarse ya 2500 hombres en lo alto del Rio Ohio con este objeto.

Teniendo dispuesto el Gov^{or}. de la Luisiana darme cuenta p^r. extra-ordin^a. de estas ocurr^{as}. sobrevino la de haberle escrito el Com^{te}. de Natchéz avisandole como se le habia presentado un tal Tomas Green con Poderes del Estado de Georgia intimandole le entregase el Fuerte y su distrito ó que de no acceder á su pretencion se lo dixese así, pues en tal caso trahia ordn. de dar cuenta á los que le habian enviado y esperar las resultas sin proseguir á nada mas.

El Com^{te} de Nathéz manifestó en resp^{ta}. al Enviado q^e el no era arbitr[i]o de resolver por si en un asunto de esta naturaleza; pero que daria parte al Gov^{or} de la Prov^a y le comunicaria su contestacion. Este Gefe dio la que era regular á semejante embajada; y en seguida habiendo dictado quantas provid^{as}. pudo y consideró oportunas para precaverse de qualquier insulto en tan critica situacion; me despachó sin perdida de instante el Bergⁿ. que conduce esta para instruirme radicalmente de todo lo ocurrido p^r. medio de sus Of^{es} de 14 y 20 de Jun^o prox^o. pasado, y de varios docum^{tos} que los acompañaron. Son adjuntas sus copias bajo los núm^{os} 1^o y 2^o.

Con este motivo y p^r. si saliesen ciertos sus rezelos, me pide aquel Gov^{or}. le envíe varios auxilios así de Tropa como de din^o. y municion^a pero habiendose conferenciado el asunto mui detenidam^{te} en la Junta de Guerra y Rl. Haz^{da} á que convoqué y se celebro en 18 del que sigue (cuya copia es la del núm^o. 3^o.)¹⁷⁶ se resolvió en ella, con poderosos fundam^{tos}. que por ahora solo se remitan á la Luisiana un par de Buques proporcionados con algun din^o. armas y Municiones, pues de extenderse á mas el socorro seria causar dilacion^a. y exponerlo todo á las conting^{as} del Mar en los meses más rigurosos del año: Y en conseq^t de este acuerdo tardarán poco en dar vela del Pto. de Veracruz los expresa^{dos} dos Bastim^{tos}.

Como estas ocurrencias han sido anteriores á la llegada de V.S. á ese destino, estoy persuadido á que con ella estará ya todo disipado; que habran desistido los Georgianos de sus pretenciones; y q^e se hallará el Gov^{or} del N^o Orleans libre de los cuidados con que quedaba á la fha. de sus cartas. Sin embargo me ha parecido mui oportuno enviar

¹⁷⁵ Mexico, Archivo General y Público, Sección de Historia, tomo 162 ("Carp^a. No. 3. Divⁿ. 4^a. del 1.^o. No. 5.—No. 1.^o).

¹⁷⁶ The record of this junta, together with the related correspondence, accompanies this letter in the archives of Mexico. The essential facts are well summarized in the letters of the Conde Galvez to José de Galvez and to Miró, August 2, 1785, to be printed hereafter.

á V.S. el Galveztown¹⁷⁷ con estas noticias para que le sirvan de Gobierno y se instruya de mis determinaciones.

A fin de tomarlas con mas acierto ruego á V.S. me despache sin perdida de tiempo al mismo Galveztown ó qualquiera otro Buq^e que V.S. tenga por conveniente con la respuesta de esta y q^{tas}. noticias crea V.S. que puedan importarme para el arreglo de mis ulterior^s provid^{as}. en un asunto en que tanto interesa el servicio del Rey y el honor de sus R^{as} armas.

Ratifico á V.S. mis deseos de complacerle y pido al Sr lo que. m^o a^o M^o. 24 de Julio de 1785.

Sr Dn. Diego Gardoqui.

¹⁷⁷ The *Galveztown* did not reach New York until late in September (letter of Gardoqui to Floridablanca, September 24, Archivo General Central, Ministro de Estado, legajo 3886). Gardoqui had, however, heard rumors of the trouble brewing at Natchez and had written (July 25) to Floridablanca concerning them (*ibid.*). That an inkling of the project had reached New York even earlier is shown by Madison's letter of June 21, already mentioned (*ante*, p. 60, footnote 20).

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Per la Scienza dell' Antichità. Saggi e Polemiche. By GAETANO DE SANCTIS. (Torino: Fratelli Bocca. 1909. Pp. xii, 531.)

E, questo, un libro di battaglia. For apart from three articles (I, II, VI.) and a lecture on *War and Peace in Antiquity*—all of which have been published already elsewhere—it contains simply criticisms and polemics. It falls into three main divisions. In the first De Sanctis appears as the champion of multiplicity of authorship for the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, in the second as the advocate of a many-sided, as contrasted with an exclusively economic, interpretation of history, and in the third as the laudator of temperate criticism in the investigation of Roman history. And it cannot be denied, we think, that he appears favorably in each role.

In his Homeric controversies he deals urbanely yet incisively with the problems which are at present most in need of close consideration. He thus strengthens and defends the view that the repetitions, inconsistencies, contradictions, and inequalities of style and treatment which are manifest in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are best explained, in the first as defects occasioned by the addition of later elements to an original nucleus, in the second as the faults of a poetaster who combined in one poem two or more original epics. That is to say, he protects the present-day critical orthodoxy against Blass, who attributed the blemishes in the *Odyssey* to late interpolations, and against Fraccaroli, who in his notable work on *L'Irrazionale nella Letteratura* found no lapses in Homer more serious than those committed by other great writers.

The rest of the book gives us in America much to think about. We have been assured recently by a visiting German professor that the aversion of our scholars to everything polemical is not a mark of their innate politeness, or of their spirit of scientific detachment, but of their lack of real interest in their work; and he probably finds a confirmation of his diagnosis in the fact that his observations passed unnoticed. Be that as it may, to us, oftentimes, the judgments passed by German scholars upon one another seem harsh and uncharitable. Nor can we do aught but regret that the German manner has invaded Italy. The reviewer was struck in reading De Sanctis's *Storia dei Romani* by the freedom with which he inferred general incapacity from specific errors and misinterpretations. The reviewer did not find the criticism lacking in discrimination; but he thought it a trifle peremptory

and needlessly provocative. And provocative it certainly has been—of criticism not equally discerning, and much less courteous. In fact, De Sanctis's opening volumes have been assailed virulently by apparently every brand of writer in Italy. They emphatically did not deserve such treatment, and we believe that Italy must eventually endorse the favorable judgment of the scholars of the rest of the world; but up to the present they have drawn a continuous fire of dissent from socialists, jurists, dilettants, and historians. In the volume now under review De Sanctis replies to his critics. His knowledge of the ancient and modern literature of the subject is astonishingly wide and accurate, and he proves himself a dangerous controversialist. He writes with passion and he makes general and detailed charges of ignorance and incapacity against his assailants. With men like Ciccotti, De Marchi, Bonfante, and Ferrero he has easy work. It is simply a slaughter of the innocents. Nor can it be said that Pais proves invulnerable to his attack. No productive scholar could stand such fierce onslaughts; certainly not one so original and daring as Pais has been. To us it seems a matter of regret that the two men whose work has destroyed the clear supremacy of Germany in Roman history should be thus lacking in mutual respect.

W. S. FERGUSON.

The Ancient Greek Historians (Harvard Lectures). By J. B. BURY, Litt.D., LL.D., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1909. Pp. x, 281.)

PROFESSOR BURY was well inspired in choosing the Greek historians for his theme. A good monograph on this subject has long been a desideratum. Professor Bury's book is extremely readable and very much up-to-date in the citation of the latest finds and discussion of the newest hypotheses. Much of his comment is of necessity common property. There is space to mention only a few of the more striking or novel suggestions. Something more than justice is done to Hecataeus of Miletus and great stress is laid on his Ionian rationalism and the largely conjectural indebtedness of Herodotus to him. The lost history of the *Sequel to the Reign of Darius* by Dionysius of Miletus is said to be the probable source of Herodotus's account of the Persian War. Into the framework of facts and dates thus supplied Herodotus wove the oral tradition of the Greeks and gave the whole an Athenian as opposed to an Ionian coloring. These books (VII.-IX.) were composed before his travels, and the architectonic unity and symmetry of the whole work, well brought out by the Alexandrian division into nine books, was achieved by an afterthought. Herodotus's work is more than a graciously garrulous epic narrative. It is a study in the history of civilization and a lesson in the unity of history though Herodotus does not himself formulate the idea. His philosophy and his rationalism, to which much space is given, are Ionian, not Athenian. "He

belonged entirely in temper and mentality to the period before the sophistic illumination, which he lived to see but not to understand" (p. 74). The story of the debate at the Persian court on the three forms of government is due not, as Dümmler, *c. g.*, supposes, to a sophistic tract followed also by Euripides in his *Suppliants*, but to some Ionian publicist whose philosophical fiction was naïvely accepted for fact by the historian.

Thucydides is the first really philosophic and critical historian. Mr. Cornford's cavils on his use of *πρόφασις* and *αἰτία* in relation to the causes of the Peloponnesian War are rejected for reasons essentially the same as those given by the present reviewer in the *Dial* of October 1, 1907.

The interesting chapter on the speeches contains the perhaps fanciful suggestion that the peculiar contorted style which the schoolboy dreads, and which is not confined to the speeches but is also found for example in the reflections on Corcyra and in the Melian dialogue, is a notice to the reader that Thucydides is making points of his own in the elaborate rhetoric learned in the school of Antiphon. Professor Bury infers that the *Epitaphios* is not Periclean but expresses Thucydides's own half-sympathetic, half-ironical analysis of the Periclean ideal. The argument is weakened rather than strengthened by the fancy that Cleon's words (II, 38. 7), "ζητεί ἄλλο τι ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἢ ἐν οἷς ζῶμεν", are a retrospective sneer at Periclean idealism. The space gained by practically ignoring the "essentially mediocre" mind of Xenophon is given to Cratippus, whom Mr. Bury agrees with Grenfell and Hunt in regarding as the author of the extensive fragment dealing with the years 393-394, published in the fifth volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. Nothing is said of the interesting Oxford lecture in which Wilamowitz, attributing the fragment to Theopompus, regrets his earlier conformity to the convention which brackets the author of the *Philippica* with what he now sees to be the greatly inferior intellect of Ephorus. Somewhat less than justice is done not to the influence but to the intelligence of Isocrates and his school. Interesting chapters on Roman historiography and the views of the ancients concerning the uses of history conclude the work. A brief appendix argues that Thucydides retouched his history after 404 but allowed some inconsistencies to stand. The entire *πειτηκονταετία* is an afterthought.

To conclude with a few cavils, it is, I think, a mistake to infer that Hecataeus's very expression, when he says that the *λόγοι* of the Hellenes are absurd, suggests a contrast with the non-Hellenes (p. 51). The contrast is with Hecataeus's own opinion, and the phrasing is almost a formula in Greek literature for contemptuous reference to popular belief.

Professor Bury makes very interesting reading out of Von Scala's and Cuntz's notion that Polybius as his thought became more positive rejected the conception of Fortune (*τύχη*) with which he began under

the influence of Demetrius of Phalerum, and that the "evolution" can be traced by contradictions and "post-Gracchan" interpolations in his work. But the discovery is a mere mare's nest of philology disposed of by a few judicious words of Croiset. I have examined all the *τοχῆ* passages in Polybius and am confident that on a fair interpretation of the context they will not support the theory. I had intended to show this in detail, but may spare the space as I now find that the work has been excellently done in the sensible dissertation of Robert Herodot, *La Conception de l'Histoire dans Polybe* (Lausanne, 1902), overlooked in Professor Bury's bibliography.

PAUL SHOREY.

Malaria and Greek History. By W. H. S. JONES, M.A., Fellow of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge. To which is added *The History of Greek Therapeutics and the Malaria Theory.* By E. T. WITHINGTON, M.A., M.B., Balliol College, Oxford. [Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, Number VIII.] (Manchester: University Press, 1909. Pp. xi, 175.)

THE historian is constantly obliged while investigating ancient problems to sharpen his perceptions by watching parallel developments in modern times; for the rich materials there available suggest to him a multitude of questions which otherwise he would be unable to put to the fragmentary reports of ancient experience. A prerequisite for the helpful transfer back to antiquity of modern observations, however, is that they are really empirical; that they have first been derived from a careful scrutiny of modern materials, and that they have been thoroughly tested where they can be tested best. This prerequisite has not been met in the present case. It is true that the deplorable results of malaria in modern Greece are impressed upon the reader at the outset by the statistics which have been compiled by the Hellenic Anti-Malaria League for the education of the Greeks to a more intelligent campaign for the mastery of the disease; but we need to know more than that. We need to know to what extent malaria has entered as a retarding factor into, let us say, the last hundred years of modern Greek development, or into the life of Italy, France, and Holland since Macculloch in 1827 wrote the alarming sections of his work on *Malaria* which Jones quotes on page 111.

Jones's thesis—to which Withington gives a mild concurrence in his well-informed appendix on *Greek Therapeutics*—is that malaria made its appearance in Greece as a general scourge at the time of the Peloponnesian War; that it caused a rapid weakening of the physical, moral, and intellectual vigor of the people, which was accompanied by a recourse to supernatural aids when medicine proved powerless, and also by an increased dependence upon the ministrations of the wife or mother—to the great social advantage of the gentler sex. Malaria

is thus made responsible for the changes—mainly for the worse—which the old school of Greek historians agreed in attributing to the fourth century B.C. This responsibility, we must in justice add, it shares with other factors; and, indeed, at one point in the book the problem is mooted, and left unsettled, as to the priority of agricultural decay and malaria.

That he has not proved his thesis we believe the author himself would admit; for such theses from the very nature of the evidence can never be proved. Moreover, we find ourselves not in the least shaken in our conviction that malaria—which certainly existed in ancient Greece, though doubtless not in every case where "fever" is mentioned, and obviously not as a recognized scourge in any of the pre-Christian centuries—was a static factor in Greek history, and hence destitute of social, economic, and political importance in specific periods. Jones's theory proves too much. It proves a decline of intellectual and moral stamina in the fourth and third centuries B.C., which, to say the least, is rather awkward, since it is precisely this which our best modern authorities think they have disproved. We commend to the author's attention on this matter the works of Beloch, Wilamowitz, Niese, Kaerst, and the histories of Greek mathematics and astronomy. His theory, moreover, is largely gratuitous, since he might have found tolerably satisfactory explanations of the real changes in Greek life to which he alludes, if he had only taken the trouble to look for them. *Malaria and Greek History* is in substance a pamphlet issued in the interest of the anti-malaria propaganda; and, since it manages to suggest that Pericles, Alexander the Great, and Philopoemen died of the disease, and that it was St. Paul's "thorn in the flesh", it probably will be a good pamphlet.

W. S. FERGUSON.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Siena: the Story of a Mediæval Commune. By FERDINAND SCHEVILL. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1909. Pp. xii, 433.)

THE varied equipment of Professor Schevill has enabled him to present us with the most satisfactory monograph on Siena that has yet appeared. Fully alive to the romantic charm of the ancient city, his delight in her artistic and spiritual achievement is no less keen than his sympathy for her struggle to develop a civic consciousness. Since, however, his predecessors have emphasized more especially the religious and artistic aspects, the reader of this book finds attention chiefly arrested by the admirable handling of civic history; and one can hardly praise too highly the ability with which Dr. Schevill has drawn order out of confusion and enabled us to distinguish trend and significance in a tale which is too often to the casual reader a phantas-

magoria of bewilderment. Interest in the free communes of the Middle Ages is rising with the democratic interpretation of history; in these half-conscious experiments, Siena played an important if secondary role. No previous writer has rendered so comprehensibly as Professor Schevill the confused process by which the city, like Kipling's ship, struggled to find herself. In his dramatic pages we perceive how the necessity for self-help was forced on her by "that dominant system of misrule, feudalism"; how the rise in the commune of great commercial houses created a new feudalism, as it were, in the midst of the old; how foes without and faction within ravaged her, and how valiant with all its imperfections were her efforts after that political self-consciousness which she never really attained. For Siena never thoroughly "found herself"; even in the days of her most splendid achievements, "that longed for product, the modern state", did not appear on her hills. Yet because she drew near to the goal and because the very obstacles that prevented her from reaching it were typical, her story is well worth telling.

The separate chapters of the book are admirable for firm workmanship, wise proportion, and clear narrative. But one hesitates concerning the general method. Professor Schevill has chosen the most obvious way of presenting an intricate whole: he has isolated the strands in the web of Siennese life and followed thread by thread. Thus he tears apart what was in experience a living whole and is frequently betrayed into awkward repetitions. In the early chapter on the Church, he naturally tells the thrilling story how Siena dedicated herself to the Virgin. But this story loses half its dramatic cogency unless shown in its proper place, as prelude to Montaperte; and when the account of the battle is reached a backward reference fails to quicken in us a sense of the mystical ardor that inspired the Siennese on that memorable day. In like manner, as we read of the government by the Nine, we need to be aware how the city is growing in visible glory under their rule; but we must wait for the chapter on the Civic Spirit to learn what is happening. Professor Schevill gives an ingenious *apologia* when he tells us in the preface that he determined to illuminate the House of Life erected by the Siennese from as many angles as possible; but the trouble is that the general reader needs to have the edifice reconstructed before it is illumined. To use another metaphor of the author's, he expects his colored cubes "to fall into suitable relations of their own accord". That is a good deal to expect of cubes; and one wishes that the artist had put his mosaic together. A final summary, handled with Professor Schevill's unusual power of concise and vivid expression, might have mitigated the difficulty—inherent, for the rest, in all historical writing—which seeks perforce in vain to show simultaneously "what in its nature never can be shown piecemeal nor in succession".

The book is extremely well written: vigorous, cogent, and never dry.

One notes with pleasure the sensitiveness of the author's eye to that peculiar beauty of the town—so austere on first approach, so full of delicate charm to him who lingers long enough to feel the changing mysteries of light and hue. It is a relief to find that Professor Schevill disapproves of the sentimental and sensuous Sodomas that travesty the story of St. Catherine, and appreciates the noble expressiveness of Vanni's portrait. Indeed, the taste throughout the book is unerring—and taste is an important element in the equipment of an historian of Italy.

Does one carry away a vivid picture of that "town personality", of which our author writes so well? More vivid, surely, than one can obtain from the pages of Gardner or even of Langton Douglas. Yet, in spite of valuable hints, found especially in the chapter on the Artistic Spirit, that personality, "shy as a swallow", evades one still. Sieneese psychology is indeed as fascinating as elusive. One reason for his partial failure may be found in Professor Schevill's limitations of temperament when he approaches the religious aspects of Sieneese life. His treatment is full of sympathy and reverence; he has some keen remarks, as where he describes medieval life as characterized by "a passion for excess crystallized into a code of conduct". Yet on the whole, and especially in the discussion of St. Catherine, his treatment must be judged conventional and unilluminated. Despite his all but masterly presentation of the outer and inner life of his city, he has not understood that paradoxical union of contemplative passion with commercial and militant ardor which marks her character, produces her art and her saints, and differentiates her from the rest of Tuscany and particularly from her great rival on the Arno. If "*cor magis tibi Siena pandit*" the secrets of that heart are not easily read; nor can we say that Professor Schevill has fathomed them to their depths, in spite of his excellent and truly intimate friendship with the City of the Virgin.

VIDA D. SCUDDER.

Brügges Entwicklung zum Mittelalterlichen Weltmarkt. Von RUDOLF HÄPKE, Dr. Phil. Mit einem Plan. [Abhandlungen zur Verkehrs- und Seegeschichte im Auftrage des Hanseischen Geschichtsvereins herausgegeben von Dietrich Schäfer. Band I.] (Berlin: Karl Curtius, 1908. Pp. xxiv, 296.)

THE Hanseatic Historical Society, finding within measurable distance the completion of its work in the publication of the sources of Hanseatic history, begins in the present volume a series of monographs on the history of commerce, which will be devoted particularly to the history of German trade and navigation, but, according to the prospectus, may embrace topics in commercial history the world over. The printing of sources will be merely incidental to the finished studies of which the series is to be composed.

Häpke's volume makes a natural transition from Hanseatic history to a broader field. After an introductory section on the early history of Bruges, the author describes its commercial relations at a time when it was an important station of German trade, and completes his study by a description of its political and commercial organization about 1300. The author bases his book almost entirely on printed material, but covers so wide a range of original and secondary sources, and shows such ability in selection and construction, that his work will be welcomed by students of economic history as an interesting and valuable contribution to the subject.

Häpke corrects the impression left by Ehrenberg that the growth of Bruges depended, from a very early period, on its position as a world-market, in which the exchanges of Europe and of the East were perfected. The town grew up as an export station for the industrial products of the Flemish back-country, relying for its business chiefly on the cloth manufacture, which had already reached the stage of the commission system (pp. 203, 253). In the closing decades of the thirteenth century the active trade languished, partly as a result of an unfortunate social and political constitution, which sapped the strength of the mercantile class (pp. 64, 198, 268); and Bruges then developed on lines with which we are already familiar. The activity of Flemish counts in the Crusades had little or no influence on the development of an active trade with the Mediterranean (p. 149); and the importance of spices and drugs in the commerce of northern Europe has generally been exaggerated (p. 252).

Among the contributions of the author to the topic of commercial organization may be noted: his comment on the wandering merchant (p. 131), and his protest against the application, in the Middle Ages, of the terms wholesale and retail merchant, for which he would substitute the English contrast of merchant and shopkeeper; further, his descriptions of the staples of England and of Bruges, of the status of alien merchants and of the importance and functions of brokers. He makes no mention of Sombart's theory of the rise of the capitalist class, but would certainly take sides against it with Flamm, Strieder, and other critics. There is evidence, it is true, of a serious rise in city ground-rents before 1300, but the leading families owed their wealth chiefly to trade, and sought investment in other fields only as the competition of foreign merchants forced them to it (pp. 193 ff.).

CLIVE DAY.

Ezzelino von Romano: Eine Biographie. VON FRIEDRICH STIEVE, Dr. Phil. (Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer. 1909. Pp. 133.)

In the first ninety-nine pages the author states in flowing language the complete life of Ezzelino. Foot-notes refer to original sources. The text is followed by twenty-eight pages of notes and four pages of new documents.

Ever since Dante in the *Inferno* and in the *Paradiso* mentions the torch "che fece alla contrada un grande assalto", the personality of Ezzelino exercises a peculiar fascination over authors. The author of the book under review utilized the efforts of his predecessors, avoided their errors, and substantiates whatever new views are maintained. By an independent research of the sources he establishes his claim to a serious attempt in solving the problem of the character of this prototype of all subsequent rulers, who by *virtuosità* acquired, maintained, and finally lost a *signoria* over an Italian city-state.

The author has solved the difficult task of developing his narrative in proper proportion. He does not burden his story with every siege on the plains or with each petty revolution and conspiracy of the warring city factions, but usually relegates these matters to the notes. By dint of compression and avoidance of polemics with previous authors his attention is given to a summary of the sources and, in case of doubt, of his views thereon. By this means his story develops Ezzelino not as an angel changed into demon form nor yet as a tyrant needing a whitewashing, but as the greatest of his warring rivals on a desperately crude stage.

The constant need of being on his guard and his successful egotism and unbridled lust for power were the factors which made Ezzelino unique among his rivals, none of whom had these qualities developed to so unital a purpose and to so pre-eminent a degree. "Neither the party warfare nor the communes of the March had ever been able to bend him. He feared neither the Holy Roman Empire nor the Papacy. He recognized no law save only that of his will and exercised this will for self-aggrandizement with limitless energy, hardened by the needs of his surroundings to relentless cruelty and contempt of humanity."

Yet Ezzelino's individualism fighting for his own hand and causing silent desolation to take the place of peace throughout his domain, anticipates, in political phases on a tiny but detailed plane the breach of political ideals which distinguished the Renaissance from the Middle Ages. He broke up all ideals of authority, created a modern state, and thus helped to make mankind politically free. Yet he died a martyr to that religion of rulers which finds its catechism in the *Principe*.

That book was written too late and Machiavelli might well have said, we give good precepts when too old to give bad examples. Ezzelino long ago had covered every phase of Italian statecraft, first applied to each intricate problem of ruling discordant and widely separated city-states remedies, theretofore unheard of, and never carried out so ruthlessly. The story of such a life is an interesting human document. The work has been well done by the author. It seems ungracious to note on page 98 a slip of the pen. Boso de Duera has his share of infamy among the traitors.

"Io vidi, potrai dir, quel da Druera

Là dove i peccatori stanno freschi" (*Inf.*, xxxii. 116,

117), but not for carrying out the ghastly slaughter of the family of Alberico da Romano. That infamy belongs to the Venetian Marco Badoer, and to the Marchese d'Este.

JOHN M. GITTERMAN.

Historical Portraits: Richard II. to Henry Wriothesley, 1400-1600.

The Lives by C. R. L. FLETCHER, formerly Fellow of All Souls and Magdalen Colleges, the Portraits chosen by EMERY WALKER, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. With an Introduction on the History of Portraiture in England. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1909. Pp. xxiii, 199.)

THIS is an extremely interesting collection of historical portraits. It is practically a Tudor gallery, as but eight or ten of the persons represented belong to the fifteenth century, and a still smaller number lived over into the Stuart period. The portraits are judiciously selected and admirably reproduced. It is hard in some cases to be restricted to one portrait of a noted person when several exist, but that being the plan of the book we ought not perhaps to complain. Of the arrangement of the portraits, however, some criticism can fairly be made. While the order is chronological in the main, the mere fact that in some cases two, three or four portraits are reproduced on one page relegates them to an entirely different place in the book. It is unnecessarily confusing, after having come all the way down to Shakespeare, to begin again with Margaret of Anjou and Humphrey of Gloucester; and then having worked all the way down to Walsingham, to have to begin again with the Woodvilles. Something more than the mere size of the picture ought to be considered before putting the first Lord Howard of Effingham later in the book than the second, and placing Grindal far away from the sheet shared by Parker and Whitgift.

There is an interesting and suggestive introduction on the history of portraiture in England, in which one meets again the familiar figure of the foreigner as the purveyor of everything of a higher type of civilization to the Englishman. With the decision of the editors not to say anything about the individual portraits, but instead to give a biographical sketch of the person portrayed, we take issue. It would be of far more value to have the origin and characteristics of the pictures discussed, to be told what can be told, if anything, about the curious group of royal portraits of such striking similarity of style from Henry V. to Richard III., to be informed as to what other portraits exist of each subject, where only one is given, and such other expert knowledge as the editors could doubtless give us, than to be given a somewhat hackneyed biographical sketch.

This is the more disappointing as the written accompaniment to the illustrations falls much below the selection of portraits in scholarly characteristics. It is not the mere fling at "half-educated Americans", nor the occasional incorrect historical statements, nor even the gro-

tesque estimates of such men as Henry VIII. and Wolsey, nor the frequent repetition of the same matter under successive headings, but a general practice of giving vapid and exaggerated ethical judgments, that is so objectionable. "A more subtle, false and selfish scoundrel never dragged a great cause in the dust", is said of the Duke of Northumberland; "In private life he was brutal and of ill repute, in public, a merely pliant tool of his great but brutal master", of the Duke of Norfolk; "No one had a good word to say for such a thorough scoundrel", of Lord Seymour of Sudeley. Serious historians no longer feel called upon to sum up, condemn or commend in a few words the moral character of historic personages.

It would not be justifiable probably to make these small criticisms of an excellent book, if it were not that other volumes are announced for publication, so that it may be hoped that in them there will be a more satisfactory order of the portraits, more information of the kind that is not easy to obtain, and less of that which is so easily available and of such doubtful value.

The Scottish Staple at Veere: a Study in the Economic History of Scotland. By the late JOHN DAVIDSON, M.A., D.Phil., and ALEXANDER GRAY, M.A. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1909. Pp. xii, 453.)

THIS volume was projected by Professor Davidson, who was for many years engaged in collecting material on Scottish economic history. After his death the difficult and delicate task of organizing and of rounding out Professor Davidson's work by new researches fell to Mr. Gray. He has added much valuable material from local Dutch historians and the archives of Veere, Middelburg, Rotterdam, and the Hague.

Part I. is introductory in character. It consists of entertaining chapters on the organization and general nature of early Scottish commerce, on the risks from piracy, on mercantilist theories, and the organization of the burghs. It is meaty, but frequently disconnected, showing signs of the boiling down process the notes had to undergo in order to come within the scope of the present work. Part II. presents the external history of the Staple. Down to 1406 it is the record of a stormy and chaotic period during which even the *Convention Records* habitually speak of foreign trade as "wyld aventouries". Through the following century the Scottish Staple was located at Bruges. Thence it was removed in 1507 to Zeeland, where, after a spirited rivalry between several cities, it was secured by Veere (*Campveere* of the records). And there it remained till its dissolution by order of the French in 1799. Part III. deals with the organization of the Staple, its officers, court, etc.

The Scottish Staple, the authors point out, differs radically from the

English Staple both in its origin and in its purpose. Unlike the English Staple it was not a fiscal device by which trade was concentrated at one or more places in order to facilitate the collection of the customs. It had nothing to do with the collection of the revenue, though by virtue of the fact that the "staple trade" consisted of all articles on which customs revenue was collected, the Scottish Staple was closely connected with the body politic. Only merchants of the Royal Burghs could participate in the trade. In 1579 they were incorporated, but the basis of incorporation lay solely in the enjoyment of the privileges of trade to the Staple town, not, as in the case of the Merchant Adventurers Society, of self-government also. The Adventurers constituted a corporate body with officers, laws, and ordinances of their own making and choosing in the general court of the society assembled in the mart town on the Continent. The Scottish Staple, on the other hand, was controlled at all times by the Convention of Royal Burghs of Scotland, which made the rules governing the Staple trade and appointed the conservator, save when the king interfered. In its government, therefore, it resembled more nearly the control by the Hanseatic League of its foreign factories.

The material for the official side of the history of the Scottish Staple is found largely in the *Records* of the Burgh Convention. For the history of the life at Veere the authors acknowledge their indebtedness to Yair's *Account of the Scotch Trade in the Netherlands*, etc., published in 1776. This estimable little volume is a primary source of much value for this phase of the history, Mr. Yair having been for forty-five years, from 1739 to 1784, minister of the Scottish church at Veere. Nevertheless, objection may fairly be made to a too generous use of Yair, when we find that two of the five documents reprinted in the appendix are "as given in Yair", especially when the originals are available. Besides, as Mr. Gray himself points out, the reproduction on page 182 shows that Yair's rendering is often far from reliable. The source for the last document is not given. The brief bibliography would be better for some well-placed critical comments. One might also suggest a word as to the records of the Staple Court, beyond what one finds incidentally in notes. There is "A Court Book and Book of Church Accounts" at the British Consulate at Rotterdam, yet we have to look on page 332 in a foot-note to learn to what period the entries belong.

But these are minor faults in a work so generally meritorious. The presentation of the subject is clear and logical and the method is scholarly. Official and private sources have been ransacked for material which is both pleasing and satisfying in its variety and originality. There is also a sound understanding of the broader historic conditions amid which the Scottish Staple developed. The work has an atmosphere of maturity that reflects the years of patient study of the subject. Historical scholarship is indebted to Mr. Gray for his

able use of Professor Davidson's material, as well as for his own considerable contribution to a volume which may well remain for many years the authoritative work on this phase of Scottish economic history.

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH.

The Archbishops of St. Andrews. In two volumes. By JOHN HERKLESS, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of St. Andrews, and ROBERT KERR HANNAY, Lecturer in Ancient History in the University of St. Andrews. (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1907. Pp. iv, 271; iv, 267.)

THESE are days of reconstruction in history, and special studies of limited fields are the handmaids to the reconstruction of wider problems. No period requires reconstruction more than that of the Protestant Reformation. Mr. Gairdner has aided this work for England by his recent and, it must be added, rather disappointing book on *Lollardy and the English Reformation*, and *The Archbishops of St. Andrews* has its place in this general scheme. It was not until near the end of the fifteenth century (1472) that St. Andrews had an archbishop and the dignity endured for only about a century, according to Presbyterian reckoning, though there were Anglican prelates, if the term be permitted, down to a much later time. But the few years of the Roman Catholic archbishops saw tremendous events. The present-day visitor to the little gray city on the east coast of Scotland finds a vast unroofed cathedral with empty tombs before what was once the high altar. They are witnesses still to the fierceness of the religious passions that swept over Scotland in the sixteenth century, and this work, a careful study of the lives of some who were laid in those now empty tombs, will help to explain why the fever of the strife was so acute.

In these first two volumes the authors have made only a beginning of their task. Volume I. covers the history of the first four archbishops, Patrick Campbell, William Schevez, and the two royal prelates, James Stewart and Alexander Stewart, the latter of whom was killed in the Battle of Flodden in 1513. Volume II. deals with but one archbishop, Andrew Forman, whose rule lasted from 1516 to 1521. The gap between Stewart's death at Flodden in 1513 and Forman's appointment is filled by a struggle for the see in which Forman won. It takes up far too much space in the book, for it is dead to our age and dull to any age. It is clear that the authors plan their work on a scale even more generous than that of Dean Hook's *Archbishops of Canterbury*; if they take a volume to Forman what will they do when they come to the strenuous days of Beaton and of the final revolt under John Knox?

The work itself is scholarly and based on first-hand material. But

there is hardly any touch of vigor and picturesqueness in the writing. What we have is a plain attempt to unravel the tangled thread of negotiation and intrigue that affected St. Andrews. And, in doing so, the authors go far in explaining why Scotland broke away so violently from her old ways. The rulers of the Church were wholly out of touch with the people. Not one of these five archbishops was a bad man, but the life of each is centered in the doings of an upper circle in church and state, which, like the polished Roman society in the days just before the fall of the Western Empire, was wholly occupied with its own interests and took little heed of the currents of thought and action in the surrounding world. St. Andrews had an income of some £8000 a year and he who sought its bishop's seat desired conspicuously a good thing. So we have James IV. getting the office for his own brother, a lad of nineteen, and a little later going one better by securing it for his own bastard son of eleven. He was only twenty when killed at Flodden, and Erasmus, who knew him in Italy, wrote a glowing panegyric on his love of learning. But what place could such a boy have in solving the vital problems of the Scottish church of which he was the head? There is no scandal like it in the story of the archbishops of Canterbury, and the slackness in Scotland goes far to explain the terrific climax of Knox's days. Such a tale could have been filled with dramatic interest. But there are no dramatic pages in these volumes, which will be read by few but those compelled to seek information on their special topic. Yet they are a record which the future historian of religion in Scotland will find useful.

Italy from 1494 to 1790. By MRS. H. M. VERNON (K. DOROTHEA EWART). (Cambridge: University Press, 1909. Pp. viii, 516.)

MRS. VERNON has produced a useful book. She saw clearly what she wished to do, and she has done it clearly. Judging rightly that the period from 1494 to 1559 has been frequently told with sufficient detail, she contents herself with describing the main lines of development during those years, and then expatiates on the succeeding two centuries and a half. Even so, it required unusual skill in selection and condensation to bring the story within the space of 370 pages. The difficulty arises, of course, from the fact that the collapse of the Italian States after the Renaissance seems on the surface to present only a spectacle of various stages of dissolution. If we regard Venice as a separate nation, Italy, except for her papal contacts, had dropped out of the current of European progress. The petty changes in Modena or Siena or even Florence seemed hardly worth recording. But among them, along with the obvious dissolution, the forces of life were quietly working; and such movements as the Counter-Reformation, and the ascendancy in turn of Spain, France, and Austria, had much more than

a limited significance. The struggle of Venice in the seventeenth century, first with the Spanish-papal league and then with the Turks, supplies the stuff for an important study.

All these topics Mrs. Vernon treats with ample knowledge. Her method is to find some dominant theme for each chapter and around that theme to group the secondary events. This is necessary in order to bring some sort of intelligible scheme out of the apparent chaos. It is also legitimate, because, when we analyze closely, we shall perceive that the interference of Richelieu, for instance, or of Mazarin, practically determined the contemporary policy of the Italian States. After narrating the political history in this fashion, Mrs. Vernon gives a survey of the social, religious, artistic, and intellectual conditions of each period. These summaries, which have the value of brief but comprehensive monographs, enable us to see the general state of mind out of which the political development issued.

Taking into account the great number of events and persons that she deals with, and the brevity imposed upon her, the accuracy of her statements and her fairness in judging character are surprising. She might, at times, have been more dramatic without sacrificing either of these qualities, but in most cases, even where she falls short in emphasis, she does not mislead the reader. The most noteworthy lack occurs with Sarpi, whom she dismisses in a little more than a page. But Sarpi is one of the world's great men, and his defense of Venice against papal encroachment is probably the fact of farthest-reaching significance with which Mrs. Vernon has to deal. To devote more attention to Cosimo I., Grand Duke of Tuscany, than to Fra Paolo betrays a defective sense of proportion. We mention this point because it is exceptional. In the main, we repeat, the book excels in perspective. It abounds in thumb-nail portraits, many of which are striking likenesses. As a specimen, take this divination of Pope Pius VI.: "He was vain and timid, constantly fluctuating between extremes of obstinacy and extremes of concession, as he was led by alternate fits of vanity and timidity. Diplomats soon gauged his character and played upon his vanity. Conscious of his saintly countenance, his stately figure and beautiful manners, he thoroughly enjoyed a great ceremony in which they might all be displayed. He could be made to believe that he had gained a substantial advantage if he were provided with a crowd which shouted his praises and knelt for his benediction."

Mrs. Vernon has filled a gap in historical manuals for English readers. In a second edition a chronological table, with lists of rulers, ought to be added. It is unfortunate that the continuation of Italy's history in this series should already have been entrusted to the late W. J. Stillman, whose mind was a bundle of prejudices, and whose historical sense was *nil*.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

Social Reform and the Reformation. By JACOB SALWYN SCHAPIRO, Ph.D., Tutor in History, College of the City of New York. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University. Volume XXXIV., Number 2.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1909. Pp. 160.)

To attempt to sketch a picture of the social conditions in Germany at the beginning of the sixteenth century in the space of eighty pages is a difficult task; it ought only to be tried by one who has well mastered the field and has taken account of the considerable number of local studies, especially into agrarian conditions, which have recently been published by German students. This has not been done in this case.

The first chapter is an indictment, in somewhat twentieth-century phraseology, of the trade conditions in Luther's time and of the oppressive monopolies of the Fuggers and Welsers. The second chapter gives the traditional view of the evil influences of the introduction of the Roman law; it is drawn in considerable part from Janssen and contains many of the exaggerations of his bitter diatribe against the "foreign code". It shows no acquaintance with anything written on this subject during the last twenty-five years—not even with Georg von Below's important volume on *Die Ursachen der Rezeption des Römischen Rechts in Deutschland* (1905). The statement of the agrarian conditions, in the third chapter on the Peasants' Revolt, rests on a few sources drawn from southwest Germany, but it is not made clear that the statement can apply only to this region. Here the author is familiar with Zimmermann and Belfort Bax but not with Gothein and Theodor Knapp. His general conclusion as to the cause of the Peasants' Revolt is that "the condition of the peasantry was rapidly deteriorating" (p. 54). The fourth chapter, dealing with Luther's attitude toward the peasants and based on Luther's own statements, is excellent. These four chapters make up part I.

Part II, contains in translation six very interesting plans of reform current in Luther's time: the so-called Reformations of Sigismund and Frederick III.; the utopian schemes of Eberlin von Günzburg and of Geismayr; and the peasant demands expressed in the Twelve Articles and in Hipler's manifesto. As none of these except the Twelve Articles have hitherto been easily accessible, the author has made a convenient addition to the Reformation literature in English. To each of the documents he has prefaced a good brief summary of the theories of its origin; in the case of Sigismund's Reformation it is a pity he did not make use of the last edition published by H. Werner in 1908. The author's translations are free, readable, and fairly accurate with a few exceptions. For instance, through failure to understand the use of *dann* in the sense of "except", he makes it appear that in Eberlin's Utopia it was decreed that "no gambling shall ever be held in public" (p. 119). It should read: "No game [referring to checkers which

Eberlin permitted as an amusement, not to gambling which he had already forbidden under all conditions] shall be played except in a place where one may see the players as he walks by." The same mistake occurs in the paragraphs relating to dancing and to servants. *Fuckerei* does not mean "deceit" (p. 120), having nothing to do with *Fuchs*, but refers to the monopolistic extortion of the great merchants like the Fuggers, of which there was so much complaint in the sixteenth century.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Villeroy, Secrétaire d'État et Ministre de Charles IX., Henri III. et Henri IV. (1543-1610). Par J. NOUAILLAC, Ancien Élève de l'École Normale Supérieure, Docteur ès-Lettres. (Paris: Honoré Champion. 1909. Pp. xxiii, 593.)

THE author of this work has for some years past been recognized as one of the foremost living authorities on the period of the first Bourbon king of France. An interesting monograph on *Les Croquants du Limousin*, an edition of the letters of François d'Aerssen, diplomatic representative of the United Provinces at Paris from 1599 to 1603 (noticed in the last issue of this journal, p. 849), and perhaps most useful of all a couple of scholarly articles in the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* for 1907-1908 on the historical literature of the reign of Henry IV.—"sources, travaux, et questions à traiter"—have already emanated from his pen. The present volume, by far the most considerable work which he has yet produced, worthily maintains the high standard of excellence set by its predecessors.

Nicolas de Neufville, seigneur de Villeroy, secretary of state and minister of Charles IX., Henry III., Henry IV., and Louis XIII., was the first scion of a family of fishmongers to attain high distinction in the service of his country. Considering the fact that his term of office extended over a period of half a century, and that, in foreign affairs at least, he left the imprint of his policy deep on the history of his time, it is somewhat surprising that he has hitherto lacked a biography worthy of the name. The explanation probably lies chiefly in the fact that the popular conception of the reign of Henry IV., during which Villeroy attained his greatest prominence, has been so much moulded, up to very recently, by the great work of Sully, who if he was not exactly Villeroy's rival, was certainly jealous of the influence which the latter exerted over his master, and therefore took no pains to preserve his memory. From this it is not to be inferred that the two men were in any such hostile relation to one another, as were often, for instance, the leaders of opposing factions in the council of Philip II. of Spain. For both, the end to be attained was the same—the re-establishment of peace after the devastating civil wars. In many of the internal means of attaining it, too, they were at one, *e. g.*, in the matter of toleration to the Huguenots and maintenance of the Edict of Nantes. But in foreign affairs, the sphere in which Villeroy was unquestionably most active,

the *secrétaire d'état* took a stand opposed to the majority of his colleagues, and counselled, whenever it was possible with honor, a policy of peace with Spain. The causes which led Villeroy to adopt this attitude—from his first apprenticeship under Charles IX., through the period of his enforced retirement and disgrace (1588–1594) owing to his close identification with Mayenne and the League—to the time when, in the regency of Marie de Médicis, he was able, temporarily at least, to carry his ideas into practice—are recounted at length; a sane and moderate statement of the many justifications of this policy follows; indeed the kernel of the book is to be found here. Doubtless a number of M. Nouaillac's points will be challenged, especially his estimate of the value of the great peace of 1612–1613, which was largely his hero's doing. But it should be remembered that the situation in Villeroy's day was by no means as clear as it later became. Because Richelieu staked all on an anti-Spanish policy and won, posterity has been prone to fall into the grave error of thinking that this was the sole possible line to take in 1610. That this was far from being the case M. Nouaillac's book plainly shows, and adds thereby one more to a long and imposing list of warnings that the problems of the past were by no means as simple as some glib writers, who forget that they have the advantage of a perspective of centuries, would make their readers think.

Did space permit, we should gladly dwell at greater length on this able and scholarly volume. It merits a high place among the works of Mariéjol, Bourrilly, Hauser, Courteault, and others who have recently done so much to illuminate the history of sixteenth-century France. If we ventured on any criticism it would be to remark that the relations of France and England are somewhat less completely worked out than the rest of the diplomacy of the time; and the omission of any mention of the Elizabethan calendars, especially the Spanish and Foreign (though the latter only goes to 1582) from the list of "Sources Anglaises" on page xx is certainly a matter of surprise. This comparative scantiness on the English side is however a defect almost inevitably inherent in the biography of a sixteenth-century Frenchman who has been called a "père de la paix d'Espagne", and as the tendency hitherto has been decidedly to neglect the Spanish side of the period in favor of the English, M. Nouaillac's omissions should not be remembered against him.

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

An Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts: a Chapter in the Evolution of Religious and Civil Liberty in England. By WILLIAM PIERCE. (London: Archibald Constable and Company. 1908. Pp. xix, 350.)

REV. WILLIAM PIERCE, a graduate of Brecon College in Wales, and now pastor of the Doddridge Church in Northampton, England, has long been a student of the beginnings of Nonconformity, though the volume before us is his first extensive publication on the theme. The work,

though written from the point of view of strong sympathy with the Puritan movement, is a worthy tribute to his patience in investigation and scholarly ability. No discussion of the Marprelate Tracts which has yet appeared so fully puts the reader in a position to understand the circumstances of their production, the immediate controversies out of which they grew, or so carefully analyzes the vexed question of the authorship of these first considerable attempts at the use of satire in English. The introduction and first two chapters, some one hundred and thirty-four pages, are devoted to a review of the English ecclesiastical situation from the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, and especially to the first years of the primacy of Archbishop Whitgift—a review designed to show the policy of the queen and her chief prelate, and the aims of those opposed to it.

Coming to the tracts themselves, Mr. Pierce is able to make evident that the immediate antecedents of the controversy are to be found in a small anonymous tract of 1584, probably by William Fulke, master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, entitled *A Briefe and Plaine Declaration*, etc.; and bearing the running caption, *A Learned Discourse of Ecclesiasticall Government*, which has been "confused by all modern writers who have touched upon the matter with Walter Travers's *Ecclesiasticæ Disciplinæ. . . . Explicatio*, the English translation of which bore the title *A Full and Plaine Declaration*". It was in reply to this *Learned Discourse* and not to the work of Travers that John Bridges, dean of Sarum, wrote his bulky *Defence of the Government Established in the Church of Englande for Ecclesiasticall Matters*, of 1587, which, in turn, called out the first of the Marprelate Tracts in 1588.

Mr. Pierce discusses the printing of the tracts, in the light of evidence obtained by subsequent legal examination, with great thoroughness. In his judgment they "are a protest against oppression; a cry for more liberty; first, for religious liberty, and then by necessity for civil liberty. . . . It will be clearly seen with what little ground the Marprelate Tracts have been denounced as seditious, heretical, blasphemous, and scurrilous."

Regarding their authorship Mr. Pierce presents the evidence with great thoroughness and with candid suspense of judgment. The ascription of them to Henry Barrowe made by Henry Martyn Dexter, he shows, as Powicke had already demonstrated in his *Henry Barrowe* (1900), to be untenable on theological grounds. Undoubtedly John Penry and Job Throckmorton were deeply in the undertaking, but Mr. Pierce is unable to ascribe the authorship to them with the complete confidence manifested by Arber in his *English Scholar's Library* (1880). "In regard to the housing of the press, the provision of printers and distributors, there is no doubt that Penry is the principal figure"; but considerations of style make it impossible that he could have been the author of the most characteristic portions of the tracts. Circumstances point strongly to Job Throckmorton, whom Wilson in the *Cambridge*

History of English Literature (1909) regards as the not proved but scarcely to be questioned "principal agent". Mr. Pierce is disposed, however, to give some weight to Throckmorton's affirmation, "I am not Martin. I knewe not Martin." Much points to him; but Mr. Pierce cautiously concludes:

All that we are compelled to say in a spirit of unprejudiced fairness is, that the identification of Job Throckmorton as Marprelate is not complete; and nothing that we have been able to adduce positively shuts out the existence of a Great Unknown, or makes it quite incredible that the assumptions of "Martin Junior" and "Martin Senior" and the solemn denial of Throckmorton, are in agreement with historic fact. We await the lucky discovery of the next student of these interesting documents to set our perplexities at rest.

It may be hoped that Mr. Pierce will soon publish the annotated edition of the text of the Marprelate Tracts which he has had for some time in preparation.

WILLISTON WALKER.

The Wars of Religion in France, 1559-1576: the Huguenots, Catherine de Medici, and Philip II. By JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON, Ph.D., Associate Professor of European History in the University of Chicago. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press; London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1909. Pp. xv, 635.)

THE eighteen chapters of this important work have been skilfully distributed by the writer into five parts, each part, except the first, of 100 pages. The first 130 pages sketch the condition of France from the death of Henry II. to the outbreak of the first civil war. The second describes the first civil war, the resultant brief war with England, and concludes with an excellent chapter on Early Local and Provincial Catholic Leagues: one of the most original and important parts of the book. One hundred pages are given to the royal tour of the provinces and the Conference of Bayonne, in which the author deftly makes evident the internal situation of France and her external relations. The fourth section consists of an account of the second and third civil wars. The final section of the book opens with a chapter on the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the last two chapters sketch the formation of the *politique* faction, its relation to the crown and to the Huguenots until the Peace of Monsieur in 1576.

In a modest preface the author gives his "reasons for venturing to write a new book on an old subject". His book is his best excuse and he needs no other. Mr. Thompson's book is not only newer but also broader than Baird's excellent work on the *Rise of the Huguenots*, where the author limited his field by his title. And most important of all, in describing that bitter turmoil of interests and ideals Mr. Thompson is scrupulously impartial. Not that the able and scholarly Professor Baird ever showed the smallest indifference to evidence, but that his strong bias in favor of the Huguenots, naïvely shown by his use of adjectives, sometimes led him unconsciously to select for narration such

facts as produced on the mind of the reader a one-sided impression. The restrained and logical mood of Mr. Thompson and the colder tone of his narration have helped his scholarship to produce a just impression on the reader's mind without much need of considering the personal equation.

Copious foot-notes indicate the reasons for the conclusions presented in the condensed and swift narrative of one who is not afraid to throw his chips into these baskets and is not anxious to dazzle his readers by showing how skilfully he handles the tools of an historian. Occasionally, indeed, Mr. Thompson cites evidence which appears to me somewhat inconclusive. For example, Claude Haton, whose journal he uses, on the whole very skilfully, does not seem a strong authority on the intimate motives of the great personages at court. Occasionally Mr. Thompson omits a piece of evidence which might have made his narrative clearer. For example, an allusion to the letters from Catherine de Medici practically calling him to arms to aid the crown, which Condé exhibited, would have made plainer the rooted distrust of the Huguenots for the woman whose mind, they knew, was generally dominant at court. Without that rooted distrust, "small politics" would not, because it could not, have renewed the wars, and that distrust was not caused by the suspicions of a league for extermination formed at Bayonne, it was rather the cause of those suspicions which in their turn increased it. But, of course, the question of what to leave out in a condensed narrative is in each case a matter of personal judgment.

Mr. Thompson makes a very just claim, in the preface, to be "the first to acquaint English readers with some of the results of recent research in the economic history of sixteenth century France". Very skilfully, at proper intervals, he reminds his readers of the things that were making Frenchmen miserable and therefore desirous of change and apt for war. And it is natural that he should at times somewhat minimize the part that religion played in the wars of religion. But his own narrative shows that, however large programmes the Huguenots might put out at the beginning of a war to attract as many recruits as possible, the irreducible minimum of their demands when peace came in sight was always security for life and property, some liberty of worship, and guarantees that these promises should not be broken (pp. 190, 340, 346, 392). Not, of course, that the Huguenots were in any sense champions of toleration. What they wanted at first was a chance to convert France to Calvinism. Their ideal was plainly a country like England, where Roman Catholic opinion was tolerated and Roman Catholic worship, which they regarded as idolatrous, vigorously suppressed. If this ideal faded from their minds as the wars progressed, it was not because they grew more tolerant, but merely because they became less hopeful of converting France. Two types of Christianity, each hardened into a system and an organization, each much adulterated by anti-Christian tempers and desires, and therefore bitterly intol-

erant, were struggling to master France. In this desperate situation the crown was unwilling to throw its influence definitely on either side, and was afraid to venture on the rash wisdom of diverting this zeal and fury into a renewal of the war with the hated Spaniard which had been the chief cause of the disorder of its finances. Researches into the economic and political conditions of the sixteenth century have shown that many impulses and motives contributed to make the civil wars, but these results have not in the least altered the outstanding fact that the unsurmountable obstacles to making a permanent peace were the zeal, the fear, the hate bred, not so much by difference of religion as by difference of opinion about religion. Mr. Thompson, in the passages I have in mind, is probably only emphasizing to his readers the newer elements in his picture. His complete grasp of the situation is, after all, shown on page 409 by his allusion to Lincoln's celebrated speech and his apt comparison of the part played by the question of religion in the civil wars of France in the sixteenth century with the part played by the question of slavery in our civil war.

The style of the book is dignified and readable, pleasantly dashed with an occasional colloquialism reminiscent of the memoirs the author has been reading. Mr. Thompson has, however, a tendency to employ participial phrases somewhat monotonously and a drift toward the use of the passive mood. He also overworks his auxiliaries; for example, "The Seine and the Loire would have had to be crossed."

Appendixes of seventy pages contain some forty documents. These are taken, for the most part, from the English State Papers, with half a dozen from the Archives Nationales and three or four from other collections. It has always seemed to me that the letter of the Duke of Guise to the Cardinal of Lorraine (appendix III.), which is printed in Condé's *Memoirs*, might easily be a Huguenot forgery. It seems improbable that Guise, when despatches were notoriously unsafe, would, at so critical a moment in the negotiations between parties, commit to writing a superfluous expression of exultation in a letter referring to the bearer for other messages.

Mr. Thompson has put the general reader and the scholar under obligations to him by this excellent work. It is to be hoped that he will enlarge the favor by writing a second volume on the Wars of the League.

PAUL VAN DYKE.

Roma prima di Sisto V.: La Pianta di Roma du Pérac-Lafrèry del 1577 riprodotta dall' Esemplare esistente nel Museo Britannico. Per Cura e con Introduzione di FRANCESCO EHRLE d.C.d.G., Prefetto della Biblioteca Vaticana. Contributo alla Storia del Commercio delle Stampe a Roma nel Secolo 16° e 17°. (Rome: Danesi. 1908.)

THE topography of ancient Rome has always had great aid from printed, written, and iconographical documents of the sixteenth century.

The study has a special charm when it comes to the boundaries between science and the fine arts. During the International Historical Congress two exhibitions of this kind in the print room of the Palazzo Corsini and in the Vittorio Emanuele Library of maps and prints of Rome will remain in grateful remembrance by all cultured admirers of Rome who had occasion to enjoy them. Once the interest is awakened in old representations of the city, one seeks in every corner of the vaults of Roman palaces, in the background of pictures and prints, for some not yet observed panorama of the Eternal City. The albums with drawings by foreign artists have been carefully studied, and at least the *Codex Escorialensis* is published in its entirety. We do not yet know what surprises the edition of the drawings of San Gallo by Professor Hülsen, for the series published by the Vatican Library, may bring in. It is to be hoped that somebody may take up the publication of all painted views of Rome of the sixteenth century. They are now scattered in expensive works (e. g., the fresco-lunettes of the Vatican Library, published by Stevenson in the *Imaggio della Biblioteca Vaticana*) or have not been reproduced at all, as for example, the interesting panels with the architectural work of Sixtus V., in the Lateran Palace.

A few years ago there appeared an album of reproductions of iconographical maps of Rome, in the style of De Rossi's famous collection relating to the Middle Ages, but in this case concerning the sixteenth century. Major Rocchi presented this precious book as an extra gift to his studies about the fortifications of Rome in the same period. One map escaped his attention, which the prefect of the Vatican Library Father Ehrle has now brought forward from the map room of the British Museum, has caused to be reproduced by the studio Danesi, and has accompanied with a commentary, as one result of his researches in the libraries and print rooms of Rome and of Europe at large—a beautiful specimen of the work of the Tipografia Vaticana. He entitles his publication *Rome before Sixtus V.* This iconographical representation, cheap enough to find its place on the desk of every scholar interested in one of the many subjects with which the magnificent map of Étienne du Pérac deals, shows Rome in 1577, before the historical modernizations which filled the short reign of Sixtus V. with the activity of the staff of artists surrounding Domenico Fontana and Giacomo della Porta. What is rare, his map presents the Vatican, in the upper corner to the right hand. It gives not only churches and monuments, but also several palaces—not simply the most prominent—in perspective view. Du Pérac has not merely made an accurate bird's-eye view, but has seen his Rome with an artist's eye.

The learned commentary contains the genealogy of the maps of the same kind, till far into the seventeenth century, and the pedigree of the print dealers and *stampatori*, who handed on this plan by many successive reproductions from one generation to another. A set of documents from Roman archives, published here for the first time, in the

appendix—contracts, testaments, inventories of Roman firms of the kind concerned—throw new light on the activity of publishers like Van Aelst and the Rossi; and also upon the history of art and artists. The head of the Vatican Library has not neglected the occasion to call our attention to one of the less known of the treasures confided to his care. In the first place he shows what use can be made of the art-historical Biblioteca Cicognara. Its catalogue is familiar to art-historians, as a real bibliography of rare books about Italy, but surely not all of them know that the collection itself is incorporated in the Vaticana; and the amount of information which the author derives from the collection of prints in the Vatican Library shows us that it may be of unexpected importance.

J. A. F. ORBAAN.

The English Factories in India, 1624-1629: a Calendar of Documents in the India Office, etc. By WILLIAM FOSTER. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1909. Pp. xlviii, 388.)

THIS third volume in the series edited by Mr. Foster contains a calendar of 366 documents, all of which, except seven, are to be found at the India Office, in the Original Correspondence series, the Marine Records, and Factory Records. It constitutes a valuable addition to the printed sources for the early history of the London East India Company; and the introduction by the editor is an excellent summary of the documents and a record of the course of events in the East, 1624-1629.

As in earlier volumes the correspondence and "consultations" contain much information regarding conditions and English interests in places besides Surat, Masulipatam, and other minor Indian agencies. The continuance of factories at Batavia, Mocha, and in Persia give, therefore, a wider range than might be suspected from the title. Furthermore, the variety of topics touched on, or more fully treated, give more than special significance to the volume. Indeed the reviewer is perplexed by the question of relative importance and can at best only call attention to a few chief topics and refer the student for further and more detailed guidance to the excellent index.

As compared with the previous volume, international rivalries become more confused and are not on the whole marked by such decisive events. However, while no second Ormus is captured during these years, the Anglo-Dutch attack on Bombay in 1626 and other furious naval encounters with the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf and neighboring waters should serve to emphasize the fact that, although these were English victories, Hunter's generalization that "from 1622, India and the Persian Gulf lay open to England as far as Portugal was concerned" (*Hist. of British India*, I. 330) should be received only with modification. Another aspect of European contentions is the curiously involved Anglo-Dutch co-operation against a common enemy in the

East only shortly after the massacre at Amboyna, at a time when at home directors of the London Company were besieging the government with requests for intervention and claims for damages against the Dutch. But even in the East there are not infrequent references to Dutch competition, to "the many threatenings of the Dutch" (p. 135), and occasions "wherein as in all things the Dutch have abused them" (p. 308). There are complaints also of the new rivalry of the Danes.

In the field of economics the development of the spice trade is now to be studied side by side with that of cotton goods, whose nomenclature from "caingoulons" to "trickandeas" does not thereby include either its alpha or omega. The methods of collecting a ship's load, the question of custom duties, private trade, rates of exchange, and the import of gold are all here involved and receive significant illustration.

Throughout the book the vicissitudes of native politics whether in Persia or India are a constant background to European interests. On page 312 there is noted the death early in 1629 of Shah Abbas whose alliance against the Portuguese had led to the capture of Ormus. His influence, interests, and diplomacy had, for some years past, been a subject of lively and frequent consideration to the English. So also in India civil war, political intrigues, the death of Jahangir, and finally the accession of Shah Jahan in 1628 were of importance in the history of the Mughal Empire and each reacted in various fashion on the fortunes of the English merchants, whose letters contain frequent reference to these events. But to have called attention to only these three fields of interest for which these documents are valuable is confessedly to have omitted many others which the limits of this notice must exclude. But first and last, the student is again indebted to Mr. Foster for his excellent work as editor.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

Weltgeschichte seit der Völkerwanderung. In neun Bänden. Von THEODOR LINDNER, Professor an der Universität Halle. Sechster Band. (Stuttgart und Berlin: J. G. Cotta. 1909. Pp. xii, 577.)

PROFESSOR LINDNER is noteworthy in post-Rankian Germany as having the temerity to write a work on *Geschichtsphilosophie* and to undertake single-handed a history of the world since the Germanic invasions. After surveying the numerous co-operative histories in the latter field one turns with interest to see how well one scholar handles a problem which is now generally attacked by well-marshalled battalions of historians. The writer must confess at once that he laid down Professor Lindner's work with the distinct impression that the author in single combat had at many points come nearer to winning the day than many a regiment of historians carrying the colors of some publishing house or academic institution. It is stimulating in these days to find a man measuring himself by some great synthetic task in the field of historical

work, and there is a world of suggestiveness in the treatment by a proved scholar of great epochs in which special studies have given all students a certain basis of detailed knowledge. This is especially true of Professor Lindner's thoughtful work. He has not been bound to write history according to any plan not his own and the reader is under no obligations to do anything but read and reflect and disagree with a work which he and the author know cannot be the final word on the history of the world nor any part of it.

In volume VI. Professor Lindner covers the period between the Treaty of Westphalia and the beginnings of the French Revolution. In this period he sees two kinds of development, one political and the other intellectual, each pursuing a different course. The absolutistic state is the triumph of the political development and its watchword is compulsion, while in things of the mind the struggle is unceasing for freedom and the annexation of new fields of knowledge. Out of the strife of these two opposing tendencies has come concord, and the child of the union is our modern culture.

The first half of the volume is devoted to the political history of Europe to the death of Louis XIV. True to his general view, the author very properly gives England the leading place here as in other sections of the volume. One feels while reading his sketch of English history between 1603 and 1660 that others beside Queen Christina of Sweden thought the Puritans strongly tinctured with hypocrisy. It is suggestive, to say the least, to have a picture of Cromwell toned up by lines which hint at similarities between him and Philip II. of Spain and Ferdinand II. of Germany. In the summary of the work of Richelieu comes a comparison with Cromwell which emphasizes all the advantages and all the dangers that arise in a general history which though it stimulates thought among students may mislead the general reader. But space forbids any attempt to select points like these throughout the work. Economic changes are especially noticed in the brief account of Germany. Through the twenty-three pages given to the other states of western Europe treated *seriatim* there walks the ghost of Ploetz. Eastern Europe is made part of the Continent historically as well as geographically by brief chapters on Russia, Poland, and Turkey. One hundred pages are given to the political history of the years 1715 to 1789, with brief accounts of political theories and mercantilism. This is distinctly the weakest part of the book. One might expect from Professor Lindner and such a work some unified survey of the aims and accomplishments of the enlightened despots; and the arrangement of the work, though a perfectly defensible one, isolates somewhat too much the struggle for colonial dominion. The third book, a little less than one-fourth of the volume, gives a sweeping survey of the rise of the natural sciences, the changes in philosophic thought, the trend in literature, art, theology, and political thought, and the beginnings of the economic revolution. It is a sturdy and, on the whole, a successful piece

of thoughtful synthetic work. Here again England and Englishmen are given a leading place, especially Locke's influence on the thought of the eighteenth century. Space is given, though necessarily limited, to the beginnings of journalism, the historiography of the period, English Deism, Methodism, Pietism, and secret societies. The last forty-five pages deal with Asia and Africa in this period. America is reserved for treatment in the next volume.

The bibliography at the end is a further evidence, if it were necessary, of the author's wide familiarity with historical literature, though one misses some familiar titles.

GUY STANTON FORD.

The Declaration of Indulgence, 1672: a Study in the Rise of Organised Dissent. By FRANK H. BATE, M.A., B.Litt. With an Introduction by C. H. FIRTH, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. (London: Archibald Constable and Company. 1908. Pp. xiii, 143, lxxxix, vi.)

THE Declaration of Indulgence of 1672 has a two-fold interest in English history. It was the culmination of a long series of attempts to solve the perplexing politico-religious problems of the time, and thus marks an epoch in the history of toleration. But it has further importance in the more purely political field as one of the measures of preparation for the Third Dutch War, along with the Stop of the Exchequer, the prorogation of Parliament, and the conciliation of the fanatic or desperado group of the old army faction. In this study, which was presented as a thesis for the degree of Bachelor of Letters at Oxford, Mr. Bate approaches the subject wholly from the first point of view. In a sense his subtitle is a truer description of his work, for more than half the essay is concerned with the rise of organized dissent from 1660 to 1672, and the Declaration is treated almost entirely as a part of that movement. Though his story is clearly and fairly told, its narrow range and the avoidance of many larger issues of politics with which the toleration policy was closely bound up causes this study, while valuable and suggestive, to lose a certain depth of interest and breadth of perspective which the inclusion of other tendencies would have given it. In some parts it is rather a summary of what has previously been known than distinctly original. It is not to be expected nor perhaps desired that its discoveries or conclusions should be startling or revolutionary. In the reviewer's opinion scarcely enough is made of the rising sentiment for toleration of Protestant dissent in the years preceding the Declaration nor of the preference exhibited by the Nonconformists for persecution as against the toleration of Catholics. The introduction of a bill for the ease of Protestant dissenters into Parliament is, in a sense, a more important event than the Declaration itself, and is perhaps too lightly treated here. This consideration appears most clearly in the account

of the issue of the Declaration. The chief reason for its appearance is given correctly enough, but far more evidence could and should be adduced for it than the mere statement of North quoted in the footnote (pp. 80-81). The reality of the Farnley Wood Plot (p. 44) at least was scarcely to be doubted, and in general the Nonconformist resistance and the fact that in some measure they had brought persecution on themselves is minimized here as elsewhere in the book. Nearly ninety pages of the volume are given up to appendixes. Of these sixty-eight pages are devoted to the reprinting of the lists of licenses issued under the Declaration from the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, prepared by Mr. Blackburne-Daniel. One would hardly have thought this worth while in view of the easy accessibility of the *Calendars*. It is interesting to observe in this connection that Mr. Bate reckons the number of ministers ejected under the Act of Nonconformity at 1800, and to note that the number of licenses was about 1500. In spite of its limitations the present study is interesting and useful. No student of the Restoration, of Nonconformity, or of toleration will fail to find here much that is of help in his field. One might wish that the bibliography was more full, that it was better arranged and evaluated, and that the index contained at least such obvious references as the Stop of the Exchequer, Farnley Wood Plot, Baptists, Fifth Monarchy, London, and the like, to note a few among many. But, on the other hand, one may be grateful for the inclusion of a good many quotations from contemporary tract and ballad literature, and in general for a compact and convenient résumé of the royal toleration policy for the first dozen years of that most vexed Restoration period.

W. C. ABBOTT.

Les Relations Commerciales et Maritimes entre la France et les Côtes de l'Océan Pacifique (Commencement du XVIII^e Siècle).
Tome I. *Le Commerce de la Mer du Sud jusqu'à la Paix d'Utrecht.* Par E. W. DAHLGREN. (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1909. Pp. xvi, 729.)

By the publication of the present volume Mr. Dahlgren has won the distinction not only of making an important contribution to the history of the commerce of France, but also of being a pioneer in reconstructing a chapter of an almost forgotten past. He had previously published a study in Swedish on the same subject which was awarded the Jomard prize by the Geographical Society of Paris in 1901. Unfortunately this work remained a closed volume to most students of French commerce, a fact that became all the more tantalizing after the publication in French of a most interesting article in the *Revue Historique* (July-August, 1905) and, in 1907, of a statistical account of the French voyages to the South Sea (*Voyages Français à Destination de la Mer du Sud avant Bougainville, 1695-1740*). These

students will rejoice at the decision of the author to publish his present work in French and to be assured that it contains the results incorporated in the work in Swedish and in fact supersedes it, thanks to a more extensive research. The reader will find the article spoken of above incorporated in the present volume (the last chapter but one), but not the publication of 1907, which contains the bibliography of the author's work. The abundant results of extensive research have induced the author to plan the publication of his work on a larger scale. Thus the present volume is to be succeeded by another of about equal size. That is to say, we are to have about fifteen hundred pages on the history of French commerce in the South Sea, which lasted, roughly speaking, from 1698 to 1724.

The first section of the present volume (pp. 3-103) is devoted to a brief summary of the regulations and conditions of commerce in the Spanish Empire and to the general causes which led to the development of the French commerce in the South Sea. These general causes were connected with the fact that the French found their direct trade with Spain in furnishing articles for the colonial trade, in which they had held the supremacy over the Dutch and the English, decreasing, owing to the irregularity and uncertainty of the departure of the galleons and to the capricious conduct of the Spaniards; that they were thus forced to establish a direct trade with the Spanish colonies, as the other nations had already done, and, in striving to do this, found the English, from Jamaica as a base, and the Dutch, from Curaçao, plying such a thrifty contraband trade with the Spanish West Indies and the eastern ports of Spanish America that their efforts proved fruitless for this part of the Spanish colonies; that finally by their boldness and enterprise the French pushed their way into the South Sea and established a direct and lucrative trade in the exchange of their manufactured commodities for the precious metals of Chili and Peru. The efforts on the part of the great companies of commerce to monopolize this trade is the subject of the next section (pp. 107-233). "Every activity of these companies gravitated around the commerce of the South Sea. Experience had proved that this commerce offered the surest means of acquiring, according to the ideas of the period, true wealth, the precious metals." The author makes a contribution to the history of commercial companies in correcting many mistakes of Bonnassieux (*Les Grandes Compagnies de Commerce*), especially in regard to the South Sea Company and in explaining some of the causes for the failure of these companies and of the principle of monopoly which they represented. The rapid development of this commerce, due not to the activity of these companies, but to the enterprise of individuals, caused resentment in Spain because of its illicit character, and jealousy in England and Holland because of the rich returns of specie to France. The resentment in Spain at seeing the riches of her colonial empire tapped at their roots, and that, too, by

the hands of an ally, was so great that the commerce of the South Sea became an important question in the relation of the two countries. It is principally to this subject that the third section is devoted (pp. 237-558). The question took the form in France of a conflict between political and economic interests, the former demanding satisfaction to Spain by absolute legal prohibition of this commerce and the latter demanding a continuation of this remunerative commerce either through violation of the law or through the employment of an official subterfuge in the form of a passport which was frequently used. Pontchartrain, Desmaretz, and even the great king himself were parties, either directly or indirectly, in sanctioning this subterfuge. As to the jealousy of the Dutch and English its importance is developed in the fourth section (pp. 561-729) which treats of the relation of the commerce of the South Sea to the War of the Spanish Succession. "It was this lucrative commerce above everything else which inspired jealousy in the enemies of France and a determination to put an end to it at all costs."

The abundant and accurate foot-notes reveal the author's knowledge of an extraordinary range of books and of his fruitful research in the manuscripts, chiefly, of the Archives Nationales and Archives des Affaires Étrangères at Paris and in the collection at Saint Servan. He has paid too little attention, I think, to the Archives Coloniales. By an examination, for instance, of volume III. and IV. of the Correspondance Générale de St. Domingue and of volume I. of the Correspondance de la Compagnie de St. Domingue he would have found some interesting light on the efforts of the French to establish a direct trade with the Spanish colonies before entering the South Sea. But it is to be chiefly regretted that the author did not extend his researches into the Spanish archives. The apology which he expresses for this in his introduction and on page 50 does not and cannot blind the student to the fact that it was with Spanish colonies that the French plied this trade and that the correspondence of the Spanish officials from Peru and Chili must throw some interesting light on this subject and should constitute an essential element in such a scholarly history.

STEWART L. MIMS.

The Political History of England. In Twelve Volumes. Edited by WILLIAM HUNT, D.Litt., and REGINALD L. POOLE, M.A., LL.D. Volume IX. *The History of England from the Accession of Anne to the Death of George II. (1702-1760).* By I. S. LEADAM, M.A. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1909. Pp. xx, 557.)

Obviously Mr. Leadam stands in no need of Carlyle's warning to Froude not to write commentary on history instead of history itself. Yet a reviewer who follows the principle so ably defended by De Maupassant, that it is not the function of a critic to set up his own

standard but to ascertain the purpose of an author and to judge the performance accordingly, must, on the whole, estimate the present work favorably. In accordance with the aims of the series to which he is a contributor Mr. Leadam tells the story of the events which happened in England from 1702 to 1760 in a clear and orderly fashion, with little display of enthusiasm, generalization, or individual opinion. Evidently, however, he has read widely, and he weaves into his narrative a wealth of illustrative quotation, particularly from the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

The late Sir John Robert Seeley brought out for us the larger features of the eighteenth century, emphasizing its two leading characteristics: the development of cabinet government, and the expansion of England into the leading place among European nations as a commercial and colonizing power. Mr. George Macaulay Trevelyan in his *England under the Stuarts*, which in point of time precedes and partly overlaps the period under review, fills his pages with numberless suggestive interpretations of the events with which he had to deal. Mr. Leadam, on the other hand, is severely chronological and generally non-committal: the reader learns much of *wie es eigentlich gewesen ist* and little of *wie es eigentlich geworden ist*. Nevertheless, it would be unjust to leave the impression that the book is a mere arid chronicle. The author gives us several crisp and clean-cut estimates of the personages of the time, of Anne, of the first two Georges, of Queen Caroline, of Sunderland. Marlborough is well hit off with a few bold strokes, and the characterization of Sacheverell is most graphic. Again, the commercial causes of the War of the Spanish Succession are adequately discussed (pp. 5-6) and there is a pithy sketch of the growth of the power of the cabinet under the first Hanoverian (pp. 231-232). While there is none of that sustained brilliancy of style which made the reading of Mr. Fisher's book in the same series such a joy, one comes across, here and there, a neat and clever bit of phrasing. For example, "Bolingbroke himself", we are told, "lies under no suspicion of indulgence in the luxury of religious antipathy" (p. 212). Or what could be better than this? "The pretender returned despondent to Lorraine and contented himself with issuing a manifesto protesting against the usurper and proving with the aid of genealogical trees that there were fifty-seven other persons with a better title to the throne" (p. 225). Nevertheless, most of these things are crowded between serried ranks of details.

In view of this fact, and since most of the volumes are constructed on a similar plan, one may be pardoned for raising again the query as to the place which the Hunt and Poole series and the *Cambridge Modern History*, and similar undertakings are meant to fill. Certainly, the general reader can scarcely be expected to grope through such detailed accounts with no pillars of cloud or fire to guide his steps, while the specialist will not find sufficient citation or documentary evidence

for his purpose. Another point may be raised in this connection: the editors of this series have stated that it is their policy to confine the foot-notes so far as possible to original authorities. That doubtless explains why the author of the present volume, while citing Stanhope's exhaustive work in order to correct some of its statements, does not refer to it in other cases of manifest indebtedness.

Only a few more points can be selected for comment. Certain picturesque personalities flit across the pages like ghosts when a touch might have brought them to life, for example: that fine old sea-dog Benbow, the erratic Peterborough, Alberoni, in whom genius and buffoonery were strangely blended, and that "diplomatic bull-dog" Ripperda. Henry Fox is once more designated as a "political adventurer" (p. 412); strangely enough Macaulay's phrase is never put in quotation marks. The reader is deprived of a delicious morsel by the omission of all details of the brilliant debate on Hardwicke's Marriage Act. The Bangorian controversy and the consequent suspension of convocation deserve at least some mention.

Mr. Leadam has been so careful in matters of fact that almost nothing may be said on this head. The date for the declaration of war against Spain in 1739 (p. 363) is usually given as October 19, and since first-fruits and tenths were formerly paid to the pope, it is hardly correct to say (p. 43) that they were restored to the clergy. One would like a reason for attributing the invention of the term "broad-bottom" to Argyle (p. 383); Horace Walpole, apparently, did not regard him as the author. It is now generally recognized that Charles XII. had no intention of invading England in 1717; the whole scheme was a device to extort money from the Jacobites (pp. 275-276). Since Mr. Leadam adopts the view that Newcastle was a man of greater understanding than is commonly supposed (p. 384), and since he points out that the timid old intriguer anticipated Pitt's idea of concentrating the national energies in America (p. 448), it is strange that he does not consider Mr. Corbett's very conclusive explanation of the causes of his hesitancy at the opening of the Seven Years' War. Also, in treating of the siege of Quebec Durell's negligence and its importance are not mentioned, nor is Admiral Saunders given the credit due him for his part in making the campaign a success.

Several findings, certainly not generally known, might be recorded. Macaulay's hero Somers was evidently not above taking bribes (pp. 161, 173). It will be news to many that Oxford's wife and children attended a Presbyterian meeting-house (p. 218). The offer of George I. to surrender Gibraltar is held to have been a mere pretense (p. 310), and the affair of Wood's halfpence is presented in a light more favorable to the Irish than is usual among English writers (pp. 312-320). In the account of Prince Charlie's invasion of England in 1745 an able and convincing argument is presented to show that he stood little chance of success had he pressed on from Derby to London (p. 398).

Chapter v. on the union with Scotland seems far from adequate. Chapter xviii. on literature and manners bristles so with names as to suggest a handbook of reference, although there are some judgments well and tersely expressed; for instance, the reference to a "society in which classical correctness commanded a more assured applause than poetic inspiration" (p. 482). On the other hand, a misplaced clause which makes Pepys "a man of unblemished character" (p. 489) is certainly a startling ambiguity. In the bibliography MacKinnon's and Mathieson's works on the union might have been mentioned, and likewise Andrew Lang's *Prince Charles Edward Stuart*. It is strange, too, that the word "cabinet" and the name Wood do not appear in the index. Among the excellent series of maps one of western Europe would have enabled the reader to follow the military history of the period more conveniently.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

A History of Germany, 1715-1815. By C. T. ATKINSON, Fellow and Modern History Lecturer of Exeter College. (London: Methuen and Company. 1908. Pp. xx, 732.)

THE title of "the best seller" in the publisher's list of novels is a wondrous thing, frequently showing more imagination and exciting more thought than the plot, because of its lack of relation to the theme. But a work of history ought not to be difficult to name with reasonable accuracy and the author if he misnames it has no defense in that he writes a preface explaining in what way the title is inexact. Mr. Atkinson's stout volume is not a history of Germany between 1715 and 1815. If he had called his volume a "Military History of Germany, 1715 to 1815", he would have described his work more accurately, and as he has done it reasonably well there would be no occasion for excuse in the preface. True there are chapters on diplomacy and administration, but they are only the baggage train from which the reader subsists as he marches from battlefield to battlefield. Altogether too frequently he is obliged to forage on other fields than those covered by the author in order to sustain his interest and to give body and life to the story of battles and campaigns.

The year 1715 and the treaties called by the name of Utrecht are an excellent starting point for work on the political history of almost any western European country, and 1815 is an equally good stopping point, especially for Germany. It is true as the author remarks that there was no unified German history in the century between these dates, but the fact remains that there was a Germany and the question for the historian is, how was the Germany on which Louis XIV. closed his eyes in 1715 different from the Germany into which Bismarck was born in 1815, and how had the change come about, or why was it not greater?

Mr. Atkinson does not think that the answer lies wholly in the history of Germany's wars but states simply that these are his special

interest, and his interpretation of what was decisive leads him, not without justification, to traverse most of the battlefields of central and even eastern Europe in this century. He begins with two chapters on Germany and the German states about 1715, their constitutions, administration, statistics, and dynasties. This is material drawn from Zwiédineck-Südenhorst, Erdmannsdörffer, Biedermann, and similar works. It is a real service to have made this information about the old German Empire and its components available in English. I know of no other work in English which has done this so well. Then, with exceptions to be noted, Mr. Atkinson is off to the wars. The exceptions are a short chapter on Prussia under Frederick William I., a brief account of Maria Theresa's reforms (ch. x.), domestic affairs in the Hapsburg possessions under Maria Theresa and Joseph II., a chapter on Germany and the French Revolution with a summary similar to those in chapters I. and II. on the German states in 1792, which was well worth doing for those not familiar with German, the resettlement of 1803 (ch. XXIII.) based on Häusser and Fisher, Germany at the mercy of Napoleon (ch. XXIX.), a condensation of Seeley and Fisher, part of chapter XXVI. on the Rhine Confederation and Prussia after Jena, and fifteen pages of chapter XXXIV. on the Congress of Vienna, *i. e.*, the formation of the Germanic Confederation. The other three-fourths of the book is military history with the diplomatic preliminaries and treaty results of the wars.

As a military history the work begins with the fag-end of the northern wars against Charles XII. and ends with Waterloo. After examining the twenty-four page index of proper names the reviewer is free to confess that he finds no name or place omitted that he ever heard of in the military history of central Europe in the century between 1715 and 1815. It is a rare page that does not show from ten to twenty proper names and such a page as 513 with almost sixty (some repetitions) can scarcely be duplicated outside this or possibly some other recent English historical work. It is needless to say that this does not make good history any more than piling bricks makes a building. The author has done all this so conscientiously and thoroughly, feeling constantly the limitations of space, that it seems ungrateful to tell him after he is in port that if he had dumped half his cargo of names and details overboard and substituted some general discussion of the tactics and military organization of such men as Eugene, Frederick, and Napoleon, he would have done something more worth while than the pages which have cost him days of painstaking labor. For such vital things as those which relate themselves to the explanation of great personalities, the character of nations, and the efficiency of political and administrative systems, as Professor Delbrück is showing us, Mr. Atkinson has not found the needed space. It is to be regretted that a military history of Germany between the dates chosen does not even mention Boyen's law of 1814 which codified the Prussian military

system of universal military service, made clear the greatest lesson learned from the century of war here detailed, laid the basis for every military system of the countries of continental Europe in the nineteenth century and consequently affected their political and financial policies and even their international relations.

The author has read much more widely than his bibliography indicates and has put together with painstaking care and accuracy a great mass of facts, and these qualities will make his volume an acceptable reference work for those interested in military history. Sketch plans of some twenty-five battlefields and several helpful maps, *c. g.*, of the valley of the Danube, add much to its value from this point of view.

GUY STANTON FORD.

A Vindication of Warren Hastings. By G. W. HASTINGS. (London and New York: Henry Frowde. 1909. Pp. viii, 203.)

THIS book is not a life of Warren Hastings, nor is it based upon materials unknown to students or unused by other writers. Aside from the introduction which includes an account of Hastings's Tibetan policy, and a concluding chapter on Daylesford, the English home of Hastings, the book is an examination of the chief topics which have been made the basis of attack on Hastings. The sources of the book are to be found in Forrest's *State Papers*, though use has also been made of the lives by Gleig and Lyall, Strachey's *Rohilla War*, and Stephen's *Story of Nuncomar*. Certain personal observations and family reminiscences are found in the chapter on Daylesford. Naturally Macaulay's *Essay* is the chief object of attack; but it is strange that nothing is said of the detailed reply to Stephen in Beveridge's *Trial of Nanda Kumar: a Narrative of a Judicial Murder*, nor is any special attempt made to deal with errors which Beveridge long ago asserted to exist in Stephen's treatment of the case. The literature of the trial of Hastings is only casually alluded to, for this book is not a history of the trial, nor are the circumstances under which the charges were finally determined treated in adequate fashion. The proper limitations set for this notice restrain the reviewer at present from attempting what would seem to be an attractive inquiry—namely, to study once more the trial of Hastings and to examine with the aid of recently published sources the charges brought against him, to analyze more closely Macaulay's historical methods, and in this fashion to review the history of the literature on Hastings. As a whole, this is not attempted in this book. The matters to be treated, therefore, must reduce themselves to a brief analysis and a test as to whether the author has made proper use of the *State Papers*. And here naturally the gratitude and appreciation of students must once more be expressed to Mr. Forrest for his great editorial achievements.

The charges against Hastings are here grouped under the following

six headings: the Rohilla War, "Nuncoomar", the wars with the Marathas and with the French together with the internal dissensions between Hastings and his English colleagues, the struggle with Mysore, Cheit Sing, and the Begums. Then follows a summary in which the chief points involved in each matter are recapitulated; and the author, after a vigorous yet courteous attack on Macaulay's *Essay*, concludes that the documents "demonstrate the moral integrity of Warren Hastings as clearly as they do his intellectual greatness" (p. 187). The book as a whole is a clear and powerful argument to that end and aims to popularize truths too long enclosed in archives. However, without rejecting the author's criticisms of Macaulay, or minimizing in the slightest degree the importance of the documents utilized, some of the larger issues suggested by this study of British administration in India at that period will probably not be as satisfactorily dismissed by many students.

The test of the use made of the documents shows in a number of quotations inaccuracies of spelling and in some instances verbal variations. On the whole, however, the use of the documents has been legitimate. The question whether Mrs. Hastings ever received money from natives, thus perhaps stimulating charges of corruption against the governor, may never be answered. Certainly we do not find any answer here.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

La Vente des Biens Nationaux pendant la Révolution. Avec Étude Spéciale des Ventes dans les Départements de la Gironde et du Cher. Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques. Par MARCEL MARION, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Bordeaux. (Paris: Honoré Champion. 1908. Pp. xviii, 448.)

THE sale of the public lands during the French Revolution offers an instance of an old theme entirely renewed by abandoning a method of treatment which consisted in summing up in sweeping generalizations the fragmentary and inexact impressions of writers of memoirs, and, instead, undertaking to investigate in typical districts or departments the records of the actual sales. The history of the legislation affecting the sales is of itself baffling in complexity. M. Marion remarks that between 1790 and 1802 the successive laws provided for no fewer than thirty different modes of acquisition, and that payment could be made at one time or another not only in assignats and mandats but also in every imaginable form of government paper. The study of the sales is obviously of still greater complexity and must proceed slowly. Up to the present time noteworthy results have been published for about a dozen districts or departments. To these M. Marion has now added studies of the sales in the Gironde and in the Cher, two regions of contrasting characteristics, one a maritime department with Bordeaux

as its capital, the other in the interior with Bourges as the principal city. But Professor Marion's book is something more than this. It presents a careful discussion of all the legislation affecting the public lands down to the vote of the *milliard* in 1825, including the distinguishing features and the general results of the sale at each stage, illustrating them from the evidence gathered for the two departments particularly, but also from much pertinent matter taken elsewhere. It is altogether the most enlightening treatment of the subject that has appeared.

Like his predecessors, M. Marion is concerned principally with the question of the social consequences of the sale, whether it increased the relative number of small landed properties in France. In seeking to contribute towards a final answer to the question, he has carried his investigations beyond his predecessors by considering the extent to which the distribution of properties effected by the original sales was modified by subsequent resales. The number of these depended upon the extent to which the first sales were made to land speculators or to men whom the course of the Revolution prompted to sell what they may have bought to hold. One of the causes turning purchasers into sellers was the continued depreciation of such property, especially if it had once belonged to the emigrants. The explanation of this depreciation is to be found, in part, in the confusion which the constant change of the laws brought into all questions of title, and, in part, in the fact that much so-called emigrant property had been fraudulently seized and sold, and a taint of suspicion affected all property of this origin. Special difficulties surround the question of resales, owing to the lack of public records of such later transactions. M. Marion believes, however, that his evidence justifies the statement that in the departments of the Gironde and the Cher these sales were equal to one-sixth of the original sales, and that, to a slight extent, they redistributed the property in smaller lots and put it into the hands of humbler owners. In the case of the original sales of the church lands purchasers from the middle class decidedly predominated, although the proportion in the Cher was somewhat less to the disadvantage of the peasant class. In the sales of the property of the emigrants the peasants gained a more nearly equal position, mainly because the legislation of the Convention subdivided the estates and encouraged the small purchasers. During the period of the Directory the fiscal interest was uppermost, and the sales were chiefly to speculators, or to persons who saw no other satisfactory way of getting rid of their worthless assigns or mandates, or to families of the former owners. On the whole, M. Marion believes that small properties as a feature of the French landed system were strengthened, although their relation to the total was not much changed. In the Cher the larger estates were not much broken up, and in many cases the old owners were able to reconstitute their properties. The nobility as a landed aristocracy was, nevertheless, hopelessly crippled.

If the sales are to be considered as an effort to distribute the church lands among buyers likely to make a more effective use of them, and to transfer the lands of the emigrant nobles to the bourgeoisie or the peasantry, they were, M. Marion thinks, successful. As a financial operation they were a disastrous failure.

The financial aspect of the sale M. Marion explains with the most instructive fullness. He remarks that while originally the assignats were created to facilitate the sale of the new public lands, in the end the land sales were pushed forward with reckless haste to absorb the ever-increasing flood of assignats. He adds, the assignat has "dénaturée" the sale, "il l'a irrémédiablement faussée, il l'a transformée en une quasi-donation . . . une opération qui aurait pu et dû procurer à l'État d'immenses ressources; il a spolié la nation de toute la substance de son magnifique patrimoine. Instrument de salut, on le dit; mais il faut ajouter toute de suite, instrument, aussi et surtout, de ruine." To accept as exact this severe judgment it is only necessary to inspect the many tables containing the statistics of successive payments on typical sales. For example, a property, appraised at 101,000 in assignats, which at the time were worth 90,467.50, actually brought in 52,701.35, because the later payments in assignats were not worth more than from a third to a fifth of their face value. In the case of the emigrant lands there was additional loss, because they were estimated in assignats, without allowance for depreciation, although the "maximum" legislation openly acknowledged a depreciation of at least a third, and because even the early payments for these lands were made two years later than the first payments on the church lands. Furthermore, most of the payments were made in 1795, as a consequence of the law of 3 Messidor, when the assignats were fast becoming worthless.

Among M. Marion's conclusions there is one for which his evidence does not seem complete. This is the view that all classes of persons were eager to purchase the lands of the Church. He shows that many ecclesiastics, some of them non-jurors later, were purchasers; in most cases, of the glebe connected with their livings. It is also true that many purchasers became emigrants or perished on the scaffold. But he does not show that the conservatives or reactionaries of 1790 were among the purchasers. A man might be fairly radical and yet perish as a *modéré* or fly from the country in 1793.

H. E. BOURNE.

Les Projets de Restauration Monarchique et le Général Ducrot Député et Commandant du 8^e Corps d'Armée. D'après ses Mémoires et sa Correspondance. Par le Vicomte de CHALVET-NASTRAC. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1909. Pp. viii, 381.)

THE general Ducrot whose political activity is related in this book died in 1882. After having been one of the good officers of Napoleon

III. he came into prominence during the Franco-Prussian War, especially at the battle of Sedan and at the skirmishes around Paris. To the general public, however, his name is known merely by two incidents which were widely exploited to make him ridiculous. The one was a speech addressed to his soldiers after the defeat of La Malmaison in which he made the unfortunate pledge to enter Paris "dead or victorious". Later, in 1876, when he was commander-in-chief of the 8th army corps he had his general manoeuvres opened by a mass celebrated by a bishop on the summit of Mont Beuvray. To complete this extraordinary manifestation the prelate gave to the kneeling army the benediction of Pius IX. At a time of rampant anticlericalism it is easy to imagine the jeers of the press. General Ducrot who had been a loyal soldier of the Empire became, in the unsettled condition following the war, an aggressive advocate of the restoration of legitimate monarchy. His political activity, not merely as deputy of Nièvre but also as commander-in-chief of the 8th army corps, became so marked that the Republican party forced President MacMahon to remove him from active service. In spite of this remarkable record the family of General Ducrot was afraid that the importance of his political role, especially in the attempts at monarchical restoration, had been forgotten by the public and overlooked or ignored by historians. Therefore they handed over to the Vicomte de Chalvet-Nastrac the papers of the general, including his correspondence with his wife and a sort of memoir wherein he relates, in the third person, events in which he took a part. Thus this book originated.

Besides throwing more light on some political interventions of the general, some of which had never been mentioned before, it tells once more the complicated history of the Royalist conspiracy between 1871 and 1878, the rivalry between the Orleanist and the Legitimist factions, the efforts at fusion, the conflicting ambitions of the princes, the noble but absurd obstinacy of the Comte de Chambord in his mad insistence upon the return to the white flag, the final reconciliation between the two branches, at Frohsdorf (August 5, 1873), the clever tactics of Thiers, and the loyalism or hesitations of Marshal MacMahon which finally defeated, as much as did the pretender himself, the plans of restoration.

In the diaries and letters of General Ducrot we find him in the vanguard of the fight, now interviewing the Duke d'Aumale at Biarritz, now travelling to Antwerp to advise the Comte de Chambord. He did not hesitate while general of the Republic to send an emissary to the pretender at Frohsdorf. At a moment's notice, he answered the pretender's call to a meeting at Versailles where the Comte de Chambord had come incognito, in November, 1873. In all these interviews, some of which were highly dramatic, the general shows himself an ardent Legitimist, a rabid hater of all the so-called "radicals" who were then trying to establish the Republic on a solid foundation, a soldier abso-

lutely indifferent to anything except the "salvation of France" as he understands it, i. e., by the return to the combined tyranny of throne and altar. As a curious illustration of the type of men that were then trying to make France retrace her steps beyond the revolution of 1789, this book will serve a useful purpose.

While it more than fulfills the desires of the family by giving General Ducrot all the credit he deserves for his loyalty to his king, while it shows, also, the absolute confidence that the exile of Frohsdorf had in the general, it illustrates likewise the gulf separating soldiers like Ducrot, pretenders like the Comte de Chambord, from the ideas and ideals of the country which they expected to guide. It certainly more than justifies the measure by which the government dismissed from office an officer who considered it his highest duty to plot against the Republic.

O. G.

The Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907: a Series of Lectures delivered before the Johns Hopkins University in the Year 1908. By JAMES BROWN SCOTT, Technical Delegate of the United States to the Second Peace Conference at the Hague. In two volumes. Volume I. *Conferences*. Volume II. *Documents*. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1909. Pp. xiv, 887; vii, 548.)

INASMUCH as one of the best histories of the First Peace Conference at the Hague was written by a leading member of the American delegation, Mr. Frederick W. Holls, it was eminently fitting that Professor James Brown Scott, our technical delegate and one of the most active members of the American delegation, should describe the work of the Second Hague Conference.

Official connection with a conference may possibly have drawbacks as well as advantages for its historian. He might exhibit bias, see the proceedings at too close a range, or hesitate to criticize the work of his superiors and associates. But there is strong internal evidence that Mr. Scott has viewed his subject in the proper perspective, and that he has worked at his task with a discriminating enthusiasm and in a scientific spirit. He writes throughout from the standpoint of the advocate of peace who favors arbitration rather than disarmament.

As stated in the preface, the first volume is "based upon a series of lectures delivered before the Johns Hopkins University in the year 1908. The lectures have been carefully revised and much enlarged. The substance, however, remains unaltered and the conversational style has been preserved."

The first three chapters give a general survey of the Genesis of the International Conference and the results of the two Hague Conferences. Then follow two interesting chapters on the Composition of the Conferences and the Nature, Origin, and Practice of International

Arbitration. In the remaining eleven chapters, the various conventions, declarations, resolutions, and wishes (*vœux*) are carefully analyzed.

The second volume contains the Instructions and Official Reports of the American Delegation, Diplomatic Correspondence of our Government, and the texts of the various conventions, etc., of the two conferences (French and English on parallel pages). It would have been more convenient to the reader if the editor had indicated the subject-matter under page or marginal headings. Especially valuable are the Table of Signatures, and the Reservations of the Different Governments, on pp. 528-541. The appendix to the first volume also contains a number of useful documents. Although the author's criticisms on some points are less severe and his conclusions more optimistic than the reviewer would have them, he is by no means blind to the failures of the conference of 1907 and the defects in portions of its work. For example, he refers to the failure of the Fourth Commission as "unfortunate and discouraging" (p. 135), and he is perhaps too severe in his unqualified censure of the destruction of neutral prizes, which the conference failed to condemn. But his denunciation of this "malpractice" is certainly refreshing and forceful: "It is a stranger to the Law of Nations; conceived in sin, it is begotten in iniquity and known only in malpractice" (p. 727).

On the other hand, our author is too indulgent in his attitude towards the failure of the conference properly to regulate the laying of submarine mines (pp. 576 ff.); and his characterization of the Convention on the Rights and Duties of Neutral Powers in Naval Warfare (p. 620) as an "earnest and solid piece of work" is much too favorable. The rules incorporated in articles 12-19 (I. 635, 643, and II. 513-515) do not amount to international regulation. They permit municipal law to operate in lieu of international law respecting the length of stay and coaling of belligerent warships in neutral ports.

Of positive errors there seem to be very few. The word "revision" is duplicated on page 81 and there is a misprint of *Macy's* for *Morey's* on page 192 n. The following extraordinary statement occurs on page 168: "The happy co-operation of the American delegation and Dr. Drago assures the peace of the world." It is difficult to see how the "insertion of the phrase 'desirable' in Article 9 of the revised convention brings a moral pressure to bear upon the parties to submit their controversy to a judicial inquiry", or how "desirability" can be regarded as a "step toward an obligation" (pp. 273, 306). The author does not appear to appreciate the possibilities contained in article 48 of the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes (pp. 285-286). The statement (p. 421) that the Convention for the Limitation of Force in the Collection of Contract Debts is a "solemn and formal recognition of the Monroe Doctrine", seems greatly exaggerated. It is not apparent why the rule asserting that the "right of belligerents to adopt means of injuring the enemy is not unlimited"

should be characterized as "cruel" (art. 22 on p. 535). The publication of an article in 1882 (p. 589 and note) can scarcely be called "recent". There is considerable reiteration of certain points and phrases, as for example, the frequent repetition of the statement that the so-called permanent Court of Arbitration of 1899 was a mere "panel or list of judges".

Chapter ix. on the Proposed Court of Arbitral Justice is of exceptional interest, but contains no suggestion of the important role played by the author in the elaboration and discussion of the American project. Especially valuable are the discussions of questions of arbitral procedure (see index). The reactionary attitude of Germany at both conferences is clearly exhibited, although there is no mention of Germany's opposition to the insertion of the phrase "more urgent than ever" in the resolution advocated by Great Britain in favor of the limitation of armaments. Mr. Scott plainly resents (p. 111) the failure of the conference to send a congratulatory telegram to its real initiator, Theodore Roosevelt, and calls special attention (p. 115) to the fact that "no American delegate was entrusted with the presidency of a commission."

There has been great need of a volume in English which should analyze the work of the Second Hague Conference in a manner at once interesting to the general reader and satisfactory to students and teachers of international law. For the successful accomplishment of this task Professor Scott deserves our heartiest thanks.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and other Organic Laws of the States, Territories, and Colonies now or heretofore forming the United States of America. Compiled and edited under the Act of Congress of June 30, 1906, by FRANCIS NEWTON THORPE, Ph.D., LL.D. In seven volumes. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909. Pp. xxxv, 4430.)

FEW compilations can have a greater importance to the student of American history than a revised and properly enlarged edition of Poore's *Charters and Constitutions*. To say nothing of the well-known imperfections of that work, the thirty years that have passed since it was published have seen the adoption of something like twenty new state constitutions, and the passage by Congress of at least a dozen other organic laws. Their bulk adds more than a third to what is in Poore. The substitution of seven manageable octavo volumes for two large quartos is agreeable.

Criticism of such a work must address itself to questions of inclusion, of arrangement, of texts, and of notes. Since the book has no

preface, we are left to infer what principles of inclusion have been followed in respect to organic laws other than charters and constitutions. It is not easy to see, for instance, why Dr. Thorpe should include the act of 1812 enlarging the boundaries of Louisiana, and not that of 1866 enlarging Nevada; why he should omit the act of 1871 for the government of the District of Columbia, while giving those of 1801 and 1878; why, giving Cutt's commission of 1680 and Andros's of 1688, he should give no other commissions of royal governors; nor why he should include a text of the "Mecklenburg Declaration" of May 20, 1775. We ought all to be too grateful for the large amount of useful matter he has given us, extending down to the Oklahoma constitution of 1907 inclusive, to cavil at some omissions, for which indeed he may have explanation or defense. But it is a bad mistake to print on pp. 2590-2593, under New Jersey, a document styled "Charles II.'s Grant of New England to the Duke of York, 1676, exemplified by Queen Anne, 1712", without perceiving that, apart from the few lines of formal exemplification, it is the same document which one has already printed on pp. 1637-1640, under Maine, as "Grant of the Province of Maine, 1664".

The arrangement of the documents is like that of Poore, and admirably clear. First come the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution with its amendments. Then come the grant of Ferdinand and Isabella to Columbus, April 30, 1492, the bull *Inter cactera* of May 4, 1493, the English letters patent of 1496 to Cabot, those to Gilbert and Raleigh, the charter of the Dutch West India Company, Heath's patent, the Articles of Confederation of New England, and the Albany Plan. Then follow the state documents, in alphabetical order. Twenty-seven pages of Illinois constitution of 1848 have the running headline "Illinois 1818". There is a good table of contents, and a fair index, of the "pub. doc." type.

Of the texts, vastly the greater part is the text of modern constitutions and acts, derived from official sources and presumably accurate. The texts of the colonial charters and other documents of that period cannot be praised. It is true that they present far greater difficulties. To determine what are authoritative texts (and indeed what documents should be included) requires unusual scholarship, to procure accurate copies of them involves much trouble. But the compiler of these volumes is content, *e. g.*, to take some translations and a larger number of texts from Ebenezer Hazard (A. D. 1792-1794), even Hazard's quite inaccurate translation of the charter of the Dutch West India Company. In the case of texts, I am careful not to allege inaccuracy except in cases where it is demonstrable by the use of photographic facsimiles accessible to everyone—the bull *Inter cactera* of May 4, the patent to Cabot (nine errors in the first 27 lines), the *Mayflower* Compact (six errors in that brief document), and the New England Confederation, of which Dr. Thorpe's text is not an entirely accurate reproduction of

either Pulsifer's, Bradford's, Winthrop's or that of the Hartford manuscript. The Plymouth patent of January 13, 1630, is wrongly dated 1629.

The foot-notes are confined within modest limits, but are not free from grave error. It is twice stated (pp. 1621, 1827) that the Virginia patent of 1606 "gave the lands along the North American coast between the thirty-fourth and the forty-fifth degrees of north latitude to two companies", etc. Note c on p. 3035 shows the editor not duly cognizant of the traits of a writ of privy seal, not patent under the great seal, in the passage above. He conceives of the act of 1790 for the government of the territory of the United States south of the Ohio as being among the organic acts of Kentucky. In the case of New Hampshire an excellent body of notes has been supplied by Mr. A. S. Batchellor.

The chief general criticism to be made upon Dr. Thorpe's foot-notes is that, whereas a proper appreciation of the scope and bearing of many of these acts and constitutions depends largely upon a knowledge of changing boundary lines and of other facts of historical geography, the information supplied on these matters is often insufficient and sometimes quite erroneous. Striking examples of this weakness may be seen if a reader having in mind the West Florida episode will examine the notes under Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi. Three notes on p. 2594 belong on p. 2533.

J. FRANKLIN JAMESON.

History of the City of New York in the Seventeenth Century. By MRS. SCHUYLER VAN RENSSELAER. Volume I. *New Amsterdam*; Volume II. *New York under the Stuarts*. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1900. Pp. xxviii, 533; xii, 640.)

THE city of New York has not yet attained the literary dignity of Rome, which can show a list of several thousands of treatises upon its history, antiquities, and topography. As however Mrs. Van Rensselaer in her present work has appended a list of five hundred and fifty "Books and Articles of Value" (the latter mostly of a documentary nature), very largely used by her in the preparation of her history of the eighty-two years from Hudson's voyage in 1609 to the fall of Leisler in 1691, we may say that New York, for the period of its infancy, has made a very good start. If from this formidable list we eliminate the comparatively limited number of collections of official documents and of contemporaneous treatises of one sort or another we have remaining a long array of histories and monographs of various descriptions, some of which are good, many are indifferent or suspicious, and some are shocking. The value, therefore, of a new writer's work in this particular field must depend largely upon the judgment which he shows in accepting or in rejecting the deductions of his predecessors.

The author of the work under review has some special qualifications for her undertaking. Her untiring industry in historical research is so

manifest from the mere inspection of her volumes that it is unnecessary to enlarge upon it. With the general current of history of her chosen period she is familiar. Either by intuition or by experience she possesses an apparently just conception of the Dutch character and of its various manifestations in the affairs of ordinary life. This has enabled her as a rule to avoid the influence of what may be called the Washington Irving school of writers, which has done so much to propagate false and unworthy notions of New Netherland history. For these notions she has an undisguised and proper contempt. Furthermore, Mrs. Van Rensselaer has carefully studied one or two very recent works, such, for example, as the *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts*, published by the state of New York, and in the previously hidden facts brought to light by these publications she has been able to find much to add to the historical matter set forth by her predecessors in her chosen field of literature.

With all these advantages, however, the author has been unable to avoid one very serious source of error; this arises from the method she has adopted in prosecuting her investigations. All historical research resolves itself ultimately in one way or another into a consideration at first or at second hand of contemporaneous original sources. The sources of New Netherland history, however, offer peculiar difficulties to investigators. Written in a language with which comparatively few have acquaintance and in a script painfully trying to the modern eye, the student is almost irresistibly led in many cases to rely upon translations of these documents which have appeared from time to time by various hands, or to the dangerous practice of resorting to the calendar entries alone for the information which he seeks. Unfortunately, the best and most critical investigators have long ago been forced to the conclusion that both the translations and the calendars are frequently utterly unreliable. To these snares for the student must be added another, and that is to be found in the disposition shown by many writers to ignore the work-day character of the New Netherland colonists, and to try rather to invest them with an atmosphere of quaintness and with fanciful surroundings. The ignorant fancies of such writers are often taken up as facts by their successors in the field, and propagated from one to another until it causes surprise when a question is raised as to their truth.

Mrs. Van Rensselaer is evidently quite fitted to have taken up her theme *de novo* from the original documents; such research is undoubtedly of a slow and painful nature, but the conclusions would have been her own, and she would have been relieved from anything more than a very cursory glance at many of the works upon which she seems to have relied. By failing to adopt this course in numerous instances, and relying instead upon her predecessors of various degrees of merit, she has been frequently led to incorporate in her work their inaccuracies, which she herself with a more critical examination would never have

accepted. Moreover, the author by her system of reference, in which she collects her authorities for each chapter into a large group at its end, has made it exceedingly difficult to trace the sources of these errors; and by the positive form of her statements she seems herself to assume responsibility for them.

In spite of herself, as one may say, the author occasionally falls under the influence of the grandiloquence of some of her authorities. She speaks (I. 456), at about the period of the surrender in 1664, of the "great trees and shady groves of aboriginal growth", and of the "open spaces brightened by the rich native flora, by crops of rye, barley and tobacco", etc., south of Wall Street. A closer examination of the conditions would have informed her that the entire space south of the wall, not taken up by house enclosures, only amounted to about fourteen acres, and that this space, mostly the remains of the old "Sheep Pasture", was divided among a number of owners, and in all probability remained in large measure in its original waste condition. As for the "excess of large gardens" which she speaks of in the same connection they contained only about three or four of our modern city lots of twenty-five by one hundred feet each, while "the great Demen Bouwerie" which she tells of (I. 458) beyond the wall contained no more than about twenty-six acres, and was but a small farm compared even with most of the others upon Manhattan. Occasionally these statements assume a ludicrous form, as when she speaks of the "*Maagde Paetje* or Maiden Lane, so called because of a brook frequented by washerwomen", extracted no doubt from some idyllic writer who failed to realize that the whole depression of Maiden Lane is only about 1200 feet in length, and could not have contained anything more than the tiniest of rills trickling through grasses and weeds. In the same manner we find (I. 190) the statement: "On Staten Island Kieft established a buckskin factory and what is said to have been the first distillery in North America." This, it is to be presumed, comes from De Vries's *Korte Historiael*, but what De Vries really says is that the director-general spoke to him, as claimant of Staten Island, on behalf of Cornelis Melyn who desired to get a few morgens of land "as he (Melyn and not Kieft) wanted to distil a little brandy there and to dress some buckskin".

Of more importance are many positively wrong statements which the author has culled from careless authorities. Of these, some examples are as follows: that (I. 148) Bouwery no. 1 on Manhattan Island lay south of Canal Street on the North River, whereas it is well known to most topographers to have been the farm afterward acquired by Director-General Stuyvesant, two miles away, upon the East River; that (I. 370) the people of Van der Donck's patroonship above the Harlem River escaped in the Indian devastations in 1655, whereas the records of the orphan masters of that period would have told her that several of them then lost their lives; that (I. 382) the property

of the turbulent Englishman, George Baxter, "including a farm on which Bellevue Hospital now stands", was confiscated in 1656; whereas he had sold his interest in the property referred to fourteen years before to one Nicholas Stilwell.

Outside of New Amsterdam the author has not been more fortunate in some of her statements. She tells (I. 26) of a temporary fort built about 1617 at the mouth of the Norman's Kill below Albany. This seems to have arisen from a fanciful statement of the old historian Moulton, without evidence to support it, and which is disregarded by modern historians of Albany. As to the settlement of Newtown upon Long Island she has the singular statement (I. 258) that Rev. Francis Doughty and friends "founded at Mespath the village of Newtown also called Middelburg when Dutchmen began to settle there". The objections to this statement (as will appear from Riker's *History of Newtown*, amply supported by official documentary evidence) are that the village of Newtown was not founded at Mespath, but about two miles from that locality; that Doughty had nothing to do with it, but that it was hostile to the rights which he claimed; that it was called Middelburg by the New Amsterdam authorities and not by the colonists; and that it contained no Dutchmen, the village being composed entirely of English settlers.

Some of the guesses of Mrs. Van Rensselaer's authorities are strangely at variance with known facts. She says (I. 232) that in 1644 Kieft ordered all persons who wished protection for such cattle as remained to them to join in building a good solid fence, "which stretched across the island a little above the present line of Wall Street". The original entry, however, fixes the limits of the enclosure as "from the Great Bouwery to Emanuel's plantation", which shows that it extended from what was afterwards Stuyvesant's Bouwery (at the present Ninth Street) to a small plantation of the negro called Manuel the Trumpeter. It was about two miles above Wall Street, and was a mere enclosure of some waste-land for pasturage purposes. In the same manner the author has devoted quite a paragraph (II. 69) to describing an imaginary exchange "near the bridge over the Heere Gracht or Canal" ordered by Governor Lovelace in 1670. He did indeed order stated meetings of the merchants "at or near the Bridge", but the rest is a gloss by some writer who did not understand that it was an English custom to call an open or crib-work pier a "bridge". The one here referred to is unquestionably the old Dutch pier on the line of the present Moore Street, where for nearly half a century these meetings were held, presumably in the market-house which was soon erected west of the pier. It was from this that the adjacent Whitehall Street appears in Domine Selyns's list of 1686 as "Beurs" (Exchange) Street.

Some of Mrs. Van Rensselaer's conclusions upon disputed subjects are not likely to be received unquestioningly by students of the history of New Netherland. Of these there may be mentioned her views

respecting the comparative lateness of the first habitations upon Manhattan Island, the voyage of Argall in 1613, the alleged passage of Captain Thomas Dermer through Long Island Sound and the East River in 1619, and the date of the voyage of the ship *Nieuw Nederlandt* with her Walloon settlers. In the latter case the author seems disposed to adhere firmly to what many students regard as the erroneous date of 1623. Her attempted explanation (I. 46) of the methods of the annalist Wassenauer who gives us our information of his voyage, is certainly faulty. "In part 6", says Mr. A. J. F. van Laer, the state archivist at Albany, in a letter to the reviewer upon this subject, "the preparation of the vessel is distinctly put under February, 1624, and in part 7 the date of sailing is given as March, 1624". This is amply supported by the details of the organization of the West India Company derived from other authorities, but space forbids its further discussion in this review.

As the author advances beyond the Dutch period, the sources of error become much less numerous, and this portion of her work is decidedly more satisfactory, though it may be considered perhaps that certain portions are unduly expanded; she has devoted, for example, over 200 pages of her text to the Leisler troubles alone of 1689 to 1691. With the careful revision of the first portion of her work, however, it is likely to take a very prominent place among the histories of New York.

J. H. INNES.

The Settlement of Illinois, 1778-1830. By ARTHUR CLINTON BOGGESS, Ph.D., Professor of History and Political Science in Pacific University. [Chicago Historical Society's Collections, Volume V.] (Chicago: The Society. 1908. Pp. 267.)

THE work is essentially a study of pioneer institutions, and an attempt to illustrate by means of early Illinois history the problems which confronted the state builders of a century ago. Since the methods applied by Illinois pioneers to the solution of the Indian and land questions, the problems of local government, of markets, and of transportation did not materially differ from those employed elsewhere, a study of the growth of this pioneer community may properly find a place in the literature of Western history.

The first two chapters deal with the period from 1778, when the County of Illinois was created by the Virginia legislature, to 1790, when the government under the Ordinance of 1787 was inaugurated. Owing to the restlessness of the French *habitants*, the threats of the English, the constant fear of Indian attacks, and the obstinate Spanish policy regarding the navigation of the Mississippi River, life in the Illinois country was well-nigh unbearable. Anarchy rather than government prevailed, especially after 1782 when the County of Illinois ceased to exist and the legal status of the region was in doubt.

Three chapters (III., IV., V.) are devoted to the social, economic, and governmental development before 1830. By this date many of

the unfavorable conditions which had retarded settlement during the territorial period (before 1818) had been improved and consequently Illinois had become a more attractive place for settlement. Nearly all the Indian land titles having been extinguished the fear of Indian attacks decreased accordingly; a wiser administration of the public lands made them more accessible to the settlers and rendered titles more secure; and the ever-perplexing question of slavery had finally been settled (ch. vi.).

Political development forms the backbone of the work and around it are grouped discussions of the various phases of pioneer life. A grouping according to subject-matter rather than according to changes in the form of government would have proven the more effective treatment since the development of pioneer society was not sufficiently rapid to warrant separate consideration for each of the short periods. Had this method been employed the illustrative material which has been used in the chapter on typical frontiersmen (vii.) could have been successfully incorporated with the body of the book instead of occupying the rather isolated position which it does in the present arrangement.

The careful investigation of the obscure period 1778-1790, although not so exhaustive as Professor Alvord's in his introduction to the *Cahokia Records* (Ill. Hist. Colls., II., Va. Series, I.), will be appreciated by students of Illinois history since the writer corrects a number of inaccurate statements which hitherto have remained unquestioned. While the type-study plan which the author has adopted proves fairly effective, a somewhat broader interpretation which would emphasize more strongly the connection between the turmoil in Illinois and the unsettled state of affairs existing throughout the Mississippi valley at this time, would add something for the reader who is not particularly interested in purely local development.

The technique is commendable. Numerous references to government documents, territorial records, and manuscript collections support statements of fact. Little use, however, has been made of the *Publications* of the Illinois State Historical Society. Some statistics could well have been left to the foot-notes and an additional map showing the location and density of population in 1830 would have been an aid to the reader. Typographical errors occasionally occur, the most serious ones being the inaccurate numbering of foot-notes. A carefully prepared bibliography, critical in nature, gives an appraisal of the historical value and accuracy of all works consulted. WILLIAM V. POOLEY.

Our Naval War with France. By GARDNER W. ALLEN. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1909. Pp. xii, 323.)

DR. ALLEN'S new book is uniform in size, general appearance, method of treatment, and style of writing with his earlier volume,

Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs, a review of which was published in a former issue of this journal. Both books are excellent examples of careful scholarly work, based upon a wide reading of the primary sources of information. In his later volume Dr. Allen writes with his usual directness and simplicity, eschewing all ornament and exhibiting a fondness for full and frequent quotation. At times the transition from his own narrative to that of the actors in the naval drama which he describes is somewhat abrupt, especially when a change is made from the third to the first person. An author often has to choose between a loss in smoothness in style caused by the use of quotations and a loss of a certain historical quality caused by the casting of quotations into the author's own language. That Dr. Allen has chosen the former evil is not a matter for regret, for thereby he has been led to reprint many reports of naval officers not hitherto accessible. Often these reports are not found in the naval archives at Washington, which, for one cause or another, are by no means complete for the early years of the navy. This deficiency Dr. Allen made up in large measure by a wide reading of the newspapers of the period, which abound in extracts from the official reports as well as in other valuable naval materials. In addition to the newspapers and the naval archives at Washington, he has used the usual printed sources of naval information together with several important manuscript sources, such as the Pickering Papers, the John Adams Papers, and the Wadsworth Papers. The Truxtun Papers, which, I believe, are in the possession of one of the members of the Truxtun family, might have proved serviceable, as might also the naval papers of the French archives. The most important of the latter papers, to be sure, were available to Dr. Allen, and were used by him, as they have been published by Mr. Edgar Stanton Maclay in his *History of the United States Navy*.

Previous to the appearance of the book under review, no complete history of our naval war with France had been published. The best of the earlier accounts, those of Goldsborough, Cooper, Maclay, and Spears, to be found in their general histories of the United States navy, are more or less cursory and disconnected. By no means all of Dr. Allen's narrative is devoted strictly to the navy, as may be seen from an analysis of the table of contents. The first three chapters, entitled *Early Misunderstandings*, *Negotiations*, and *French Spoliations*, are introductory to the main subject, our naval war with France. This is treated in five chapters: *Naval Preparations*, *the Opening of Hostilities*, *Events of 1799*, *the Last Year of the War*, and *Private Armed Vessels*. The four concluding chapters are entitled *the Convention of 1800*, *Reduction of the Navy*, *Spoliations after 1801*, and *the Spoliation Claims*. It should be noted that one chapter deals with the operations of the privateers or letters of marque.

The author prints (p. 222) some valuable statistics for the war. He says that about eighty-five prizes were taken by our navy from the

French, not counting recaptured vessels and small boats; that two of these were national vessels; and that the French captured but one national vessel. About seventy prizes, valued at probably not less than seven hundred thousand dollars, were condemned by the American courts. Some additional statistics would have proven valuable, although doubtless difficult to compile. We should like to know how many vessels were taken by our privateers, and how many vessels were taken by the French privateers and by the French national vessels; and there might have been included in the appendix a list of prizes captured by our ships of war. Dr. Allen doubtless could improve upon the lists found in Goldsborough and Emmons. He prints in the appendix a full list of sources of information; extracts from our treaties with France of 1778, 1788, 1800, and 1803, from our treaty with England of 1794, and from the decrees of France and England relating to neutral commerce, 1793-1807; lists of vessels and commanding officers in service, 1798-1801; and a note on the nautical day. The references to sources of information are full and frequent, and there is an excellent index.

CHARLES OSCAR PAULLIN.

The Works of James Buchanan, comprising his Speeches, State Papers, and Private Correspondence. Collected and Edited by JOHN BASSETT MOORE. Volume VII., 1846-1848; Volume VIII., 1848-1853. (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott and Company. 1909. Pp. xxiii, 508; xxii, 512.)

THE period covered by these volumes, June, 1846-June, 1853, was filled with momentous concerns for the United States, in some of which the personal agency of Buchanan was a factor of prime importance, while in others his position acquires significance because of his later unhappy career as President. Unfortunately, perhaps, for the historical student or biographer, the interest and novelty of the material presented in this installment of his writings are not proportioned to the bulk. On the great issues of Oregon and the Mexican War the record of Buchanan's activity as Secretary of State, though very full, offers little of importance that was not already known, notwithstanding the fact that a number of despatches hitherto printed in part only are now given in full. That Buchanan stood very close to Polk, and stated in dignified and forcible language the policy of the administration, is abundantly evident, but memoranda of a private or personal sort are too scanty to enable one to judge how far the essential ideas were those of the one or the other. It is interesting to note that as late as June, 1847, Buchanan saw no prospect of an early peace, and was prepared to see the war continue indefinitely. As he himself was in favor of acquiring both Upper and Lower California (VII. 287), it must have cheered him to be told by Bancroft, then minister to England, in May of that year, that while neither the English ministry nor

the people "like to see us increase in territory or commerce in the Pacific", they nevertheless "see the inevitable necessity which appropriates all North America to the Anglo-Saxon race" (VII. 309).

In view of the later decision in the Dred Scott case, it is significant to find Buchanan declining to issue a passport to free negroes on the ground that when such applications have been made "it has been customary to give them, not a passport, in the ordinary form, recognizing them as citizens, but a certificate suited to the nature of the case" (VII. 236). An early anticipation of the "Drago doctrine" appears in April, 1847, when certain New York correspondents are informed that "it is contrary to the practice of this Department to demand payment on behalf of private claimants in a case of contract entered into by citizens of the United States with a foreign government" (VII. 266). As is well known, neither the diplomatic nor consular services were in good condition in the years just before the Civil War, but there is evidence that Buchanan made strong efforts to improve both. He frequently rebukes ministers and consuls for their conduct, drafts a plan for the reorganization of the consular service, calls a halt in the growing expenditures for the relief of distressed American seamen abroad, warns the American representative to the Papal States that religious questions must not be touched, and informs the minister to Hawaii that an American representative is not sent abroad to reform the government to which he is accredited.

During the period of his secretaryship he apparently refrained from committing himself in writing on questions of domestic politics. He was a keen observer, however, and kept in touch with his party in Pennsylvania. He was opposed to the tariff of 1846, being convinced that it would make Pennsylvania "permanently Whig" (VII. 117); and he foresaw in April, 1847, the nomination of Taylor. He opposed the Compromise of 1850 while it was pending, though later accepting it as a "finality". His own view was that the line of 1820 should be extended to the Pacific, since the South was entitled to a fair share of the territory acquired from Mexico; and he accordingly favored neither the Wilmot proviso nor the doctrine of non-intervention; as between the two, "the real difference in practical effect" was that "between tweedledum and tweedledee" (VIII. 383). From slavery in the new region he anticipated no trouble, feeling convinced that neither soil, climate, nor population were favorable to its maintenance. As for the proposed state of California, however, its boundaries were egregiously large: the best security for union would be the organization of two states, and "thus create rival interests on the Pacific, which will render each portion more dependent upon the Federal Government" (VIII. 384).

In September, 1847, he deprecates the use of his name in connection with the presidency, and after his retirement from the State Department he refused to reveal anything of what passed in the Cabinet.

His enmity towards Simon Cameron apparently did not smooth his path so far as Pennsylvania was concerned. By December, 1851, however, he is willing to admit that he is in the race, though still "determined not to lose a night's rest or a meal's victuals, let the result be what it may" (VIII. 427). In February following he writes to a committee of citizens of Baltimore that the Democratic party has never seemed to him in such danger of defeat; and since the Compromise measures are no longer to be discussed, the party must rely for success upon a renewed proclamation of its historical doctrine of strict construction. He felt himself strong in the South, and hoped particularly for endorsement from Virginia and Tennessee. He took his defeat in the national convention philosophically, however, offered hearty congratulations to Pierce, flayed Scott on the stump, and gave the incoming president some good advice about the incoming cabinet. The last paper in volume VIII. is a letter to Pierce declining the mission to England, the tender of which in March had, after some hesitation, been accepted, but which his dissatisfaction with the state of pending negotiations now led him to think of surrendering.

Nothing could illustrate better the personal, as distinguished from the official, characteristics of Buchanan than the fact that, of the upwards of a thousand pages to which these two volumes extend, only about a hundred and fifty are needed for the record of the more than four years which followed his retirement from the office of Secretary of State. If he ever read books or cultivated intellectual interests; if he cared for personal friendship or spent time in cultivating it; if he knew scientists or men of letters, just then crowding the American stage in unprecedented numbers, or met any of the numerous foreign observers who found the United States so fertile a field, these pages afford no evidence of it. The man who could write to his niece, "There is no spectacle more agreeable to me than that of a young married woman properly sensible of the important duties of her station and acting upon those high principles which add lustre to the female character", was certainly destitute of social resiliency if not of intellectual range. The one absorbing interest of Buchanan's life was politics, and beyond that he did not stray.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

A Congressional History of Railways in the United States. By LEWIS HENRY HANEY, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Economics, State University of Iowa. Volume I. *Congress and the Railway down to 1850.* (Madison, Wisconsin: Democrat Printing Company. 1908. Pp. 273.)

THIS volume, a reprint of volume III. of the University of Wisconsin series in Economics and Political Science, aims to make the solution of the railway problem easier by viewing transportation

as a matter of evolution, and by giving to it a proper historical setting. If the railway is to be regarded as a relative problem, its relation to Congress is not the least helpful phase. This volume brings the history of the railway in its Congressional relations to 1850. The division at this point is justified by Hadley's statement that the infancy of railways ended at the middle of the century; a secondary division is made at the year 1830 and is justified by the fact that steam was introduced as an agency in transportation about that year.

The materials for the volume are drawn quite naturally from the Congressional records. The thesis established is that Congressional action, taken for the benefit of railways, was accompanied by various stipulations under which regulation of railway rates and service may properly be made. Even the granting of aids would tend naturally toward later regulation.

The early chapters give a concise and complete history of the evolution of the railway as a means of transportation, and the various projects advanced by early promoters, popularly known as "steam maniacs". It is interesting to note that paternalistic ideas of public aid were predominant from the beginning. Inventors were early given financial assistance by various state legislatures and besought similar benefits from both the Continental and the Federal Congress. Following a description of these requests for aid to transportation by land, the author shows the early idea of structure and utility of railroads; cost of transportation and rates of toll; and the prolonged rivalry between the canal and the railway, with a final victory for the latter method of carriage. About 1840 the decrease in the number of petitions for aid in constructing wagon roads, both post and military, shows that the railways were becoming the dependable means of transportation in the public mind.

The most novel portion of the volume is that which considers the railway in its social and economic effects. Here the author traces the beginnings of the modern railway problems, competition between lines, relief from monopoly, and, to some extent, regulation of rates. In more detail is traced the thought of government ownership of railways which was frequently advanced in connection with government aid for their construction; also here are shown the first attempts at government regulation. The latter appears chiefly in connection with the District of Columbia, the territories, transportation of mails, public lands, and public defense.

The latter portion of the volume is given over to a description of the government aid extended to railways and its connection with the general system of public improvements. The various routes surveyed and the several subscriptions made to railway stock are described. One chapter is devoted to the rise and fall of tariffs on railway iron during the first half of the nineteenth century and the situation which caused the rails to be placed on the free list of 1825. The closing chapter covers the early history of the many Pacific railway projects.

References to original material are abundant, the sources are well chosen, and the subject-matter is clearly presented. The criticism most likely to be passed upon the volume is that it shows too evidently its earlier form of a monograph. No attempt has been made to smooth the way from one division of the work to another; heads and subheads cut the chapters into little bits; and in the absence of author's notes, the reader is left in many places to deduce his own conclusions. Evidences of a prentice hand are not infrequent, as in the use of "our attitude" in setting forth the plan to be pursued in the treatment; also an amateurishness in the too frequent use of cross-references. However, the production must be judged as a monograph for library work, and with its excellent bibliography and index, its reproduction of the Whitney maps, and its combination of the historical and political aspects of the railway, this volume in connection with those to appear later will form a distinct contribution to economic history.

Railroad Promotion and Capitalization in the United States. By FREDERICK A. CLEVELAND, Ph.D., and FRED WILBUR POWELL, A.M. (New York and London: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1909. Pp. xiv, 368.)

THE authors of this book have evidently undertaken a rather thorough historical investigation of the financial or corporate aspects of American railroads, the first-fruits of which are embodied in these pages. The topics here considered are promotion and capitalization, but we are promised in the preface that "subjects pertaining to the financing of construction and equipment, financial management, bankruptcy, receivership, reorganization, and consolidation will be presented at a later date."

The scope of the present volume is in one respect broader and in another not so broad as is indicated by its title. On the one hand a discussion is presented of numerous details in the early history of transportation which have only a remote bearing on the subject of the work, while on the other hand the question of capitalization is treated scantily and incidentally. The general field covered is the promotion of American railroads, with special reference to the first three or four decades of their history.

The book opens with two chapters on the pre-railroad development of transportation in this country, followed by a third which describes the origin of steam locomotion on land, tracing the early inventions to their successful culmination. The subject of railroad promotion is then more directly approached. The popular attitude toward early railroad enterprises is described, and an exposition given of the various advantages which the public saw in railroad development. An interesting account is offered of the commercial rivalry between cities, especially Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston; of the effects of this

rivalry on the investment of capital, and also of its influence on state legislatures, in stimulating them to undertake or encourage the construction of transportation facilities. Some mention is also made of the reflex action of the roads so built upon the various cities concerned. Several chapters are devoted to a discussion of the numerous forms of aid received by railroads from the national, state, and local governments, as well as from individuals; and in this connection there is a brief account of early projects for a transcontinental route. The remainder of the work is concerned with private promoters of railroads, their motives and their methods, both good and bad. The legal conditions under which they worked, the various ways in which they appealed to the public for support, the methods which they adopted for financing their projects, and the services performed for them by banks and syndicates, are subjects treated in considerable detail.

The special service which the authors have rendered in writing this book arises from the fact that through its pages they illuminate the record of the development of transportation in this country by presenting a large number of significant facts gathered from numerous sources, many of which are inaccessible to the general student. Of course no hitherto unknown tendencies or general movements in the evolution of American transportation are disclosed, but the facts presented are sometimes accompanied by observations and comments which are both original and suggestive. The most notable of these is a very interesting discussion of the morality of early railroad promotions, which on the whole tends to condone the practices of "our Ames, our Stanfords, and our Huntingtons".

The material throughout is presented in an interesting manner, and the authors have placed students of the subject under a special obligation to them by adding an exhaustive bibliography, which covers forty-six pages. On the whole the merits of the work are such that it must be regarded as a valuable addition to the literature of American industrial and financial history.

HARRISON S. SMALLEY.

History of the State of Washington. By EDMOND S. MEANY, M.L.,
Professor of History, University of Washington. (New York:
The Macmillan Company. 1909. Pp. xii, 406.)

THIS is a well made, attractive volume. The cover, paper, and type are all good. Of the illustrations, the physiographic map of Washington opposite page 4 and the political map of the state opposite page 284 seem especially useful. The representations of historic characters and objects, some fifty-seven in number, though not without interest become a trifle oppressive, as you turn the leaves, from their frequency and from the indiscriminated prominence secured for them in the uniform full-page cuts. The text is arranged in five parts under the heads, Period of Discovery, Period of Exploration, Period of Occupation, Territorial

Days, and Statehood. There are thirty-one chapters, of which part i. has four (forty-four pages), part ii. five (thirty-four pages), part iii. six (forty-seven pages), part iv. nine (one hundred and forty-one pages), and part v. six (forty-eight pages). There are four appendixes dealing with political matters and a pretty complete index. It will be seen that in the distribution of his space the author is properly generous to the period 1853-1889, covering the territorial history of Washington. Here he finds many topics of interest aside from matters political, among them the Indian wars, treated with considerable detail, the San Juan dispute, and the influence of the gold rush to the interior. The most distinctive chapter in part v. is the last, on Federal Activity in the State.

The table of contents suggests that the work is comprehensive. Professor Meany places before us a large amount of matter and he has considered most of the important topics pertinent to his theme. His pages evince a familiarity with the current sources and show him to possess the firm grasp of concrete facts which such familiarity helps to insure. The book is charged with the enthusiasm that commonly distinguishes the investigator from the mere compiler.

Some labor will be required to verify these conclusions or deny them, for the volume is not easy to read. It is so exclusively episodic yet so innocent of the epic quality that it does not grip the mind closely either by stimulating thought or engaging the imagination. It would be more interesting if there were less conscious effort to make it so, if the recital of dramatic incident were oftener interrupted by calm, authoritative statement in some of the more generalized forms. If it be objected that this is a criticism on the literary character of the book rather than on its historicity the answer is that a history must be, first of all, a book, and no true book can be written without a certain regard to the requirements of literature. An aggregation of incidents however important, however defensible on the score of accuracy does not necessarily constitute a history even when these are assembled under a reasonably logical schedule. There must be an inner principle of unity to govern the selection of matter, determine the relation of parts, and co-ordinate or fuse the whole. This principle is of course the author's ideal of the general effect, picture, or truth which his book is to impress. In the present work we look in vain for anything more than formal unity. There seems to be no clearly conceived ideal result toward which the author is pressing and so there is apparent throughout a want of coherence between the parts, of discriminating taste in choosing facts, of deftness in their arrangement. If the author's ability as a searcher of facts were matched by a corresponding sense of perspective in their utilization the result would be a much better book. For, if it cannot be charged that he has used the microscope too much, he has undeniably used the telescope too little.

The above statement will hold both as to the general plan of the

book and the treatment of the separate topics. It is often hard to explain and harder to justify the author's choice of materials in making up a chapter. He devotes to Captain Bonneville, a "history made man", more space than he allows Alexander Mackenzie; and the worst of his misplaced generosity is that one-fourth of this space is given up to trifling incidents in Bonneville's later career as an officer stationed at Fort Vancouver, the relevancy of which is more than questionable. Other peculiarities that one cannot commend are the disposition to drag into the narrative matters of a purely antiquarian interest, an inveterate habit of quoting the opinions of other writers, and an affectation of subservency to present-day authorities.

Though the materials out of which the book is constructed are generally sound, some misconceptions occur, notably in the discussion of diplomatic history. There is no good reason for calling Pakenham's offer of a harbor and portion of land north of the Columbia "a singular concession" as the author does on page 188, for this was avowedly a mere renewal of the offer made to Gallatin eighteen years earlier. But the reviewer is unaware of any evidence to confirm the author's statement (p. 135) that "the British Government was ready on several occasions to accept the boundary [49th parallel], but that the urgency of the Hudson Bay Company prevented it." If he has really discovered a fact of such high interest he should indicate its source. Minor points are his doubt whether Drake attained to latitude 48° and the misdating of the discovery of San Francisco Bay. The number of typographical errors, while not extreme, is formidable. Examples are on pages 26-29, 40-42, 75, etc.

Although he has not been at liberty to refrain from criticizing, the reviewer is far from condemning the book. He regards it as a conscientious performance, possessing considerable merit as a compendium of facts relating to the Northwest. Some topics are treated more adequately than anywhere else. The author's information is always respectable, his judgment sane, his sympathies admirable. He has done so well that we are impatient with him for not taking the trouble to do better.

JOSEPH SCHAFER.

MINOR NOTICES

The Development of the State: its Governmental Organization and its Activities. By James Quayle Dealey, Ph.D., Professor of Social and Political Science at Brown University. (New York, Boston, and Chicago, Silver, Burdett, and Company, 1909, pp. 343.) This little book is in the main a general description of governmental activity as it is manifested in the progressive nations of the West. It consists of general statements based upon former or existing institutions in individual states rather than descriptions of these separate state systems. This is pref-

aced by a brief sketch of the origin and history of the state and a still briefer statement of the theory of the state.

The book is intended for "the student and the general reader", and the author refers to it as "an elementary study".

In the first or historical part he has, from the point of view of the adult reader, succeeded almost too well in making it elementary. In part II., on the Sovereignty of the State, he makes the statement that "There can be no state without sovereignty and every body politic having sovereignty is a state." In a book which professes not to be an essay but an elementary handbook it seems strange that there should be no mention of the fact that a considerable number of very influential scholars holds the opinion that there can be a state without sovereignty. But the historical and the theoretical parts of the book together make up little more than a third of it. Most of the rest is descriptive, and the average reader will probably find it much the best part. In it the author has described the broader outlines of government simply, briefly, and in a manner suited to accomplish his aim of giving to the reader for whom it is intended "an outline of political organization and activity, so coördinated, that he will be able to understand more clearly the meaning of political institutions". Some things will perhaps not command universal assent, among others, the characterization of feudalism as "the stage of developing confederation", or the author's treatment of the "legal sovereign". He might also have given greater emphasis in his four functions of legislative bodies to the "government-making" function so prominent in Europe and the British colonies.

The treatment of the electorate as a department of government is interesting, and the reader will be struck all through the book with the emphasis which the author properly places upon the economic conditions underlying political development, also with his faith in the ultimate success of the new machinery of modern democracy, such as the initiative, the referendum, and the recall, and his optimism concerning the future of democracy generally.

C. H. McILWAIN.

Les Ibères: Étude d'Histoire d'Archéologie et de Linguistique. Par Édouard Philipon, Ancien Élève de l'École des Chartes et de l'École des Hautes Études. Avec une Préface de M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1909, pp. xxiv, 344.) This is practically a survey of the history of the Iberian peninsula down to the Roman period. The earlier chapters discuss the successive populations that occupied the soil, their racial and linguistic relations, and their geographical movements; and the second half of the work takes up in detail the civilization of the Iberians properly so-called. The author shows a thorough knowledge of the historical materials, and his views, which depart in some important respects from received opinion, must be seriously reckoned with by later students of the subject.

Greatest hesitation will perhaps be felt about his theory that Iberian

was an Indo-European language. He maintained this in an article on Iberian declensions contributed to the *Mélanges* in honor of M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, and his methods and results were then severely criticized by Professor Schuchardt, who tried to prove the kinship of Iberian and Basque. (See the Vienna *Sitzungsberichte* for 1907.) Now M. Philipon reasserts his opinion, with additional arguments, but unfortunately does not address himself directly to the refutation of Professor Schuchardt. The present reviewer, who has no knowledge of Basque, is hardly competent to pass upon Professor Schuchardt's positive case, but he finds in the Iberian material analyzed by that scholar much that is hard to explain on M. Philipon's theory. In general, no solution of the problem can be really satisfactory which does not take more account than does M. Philipon of the monuments composed wholly in Iberian. His arguments, moreover, from the etymology of proper names, though worthy of serious consideration, are open to two kinds of doubt. Many of the derivations are based upon very uncertain comparisons, and again in many cases it is not clear that the words under discussion are really Iberian. Thus the names *Sequana* and *Sequani* are ordinarily treated as Celtic.

M. Philipon's theory of the westward migration of the Iberians and the Ligurians from an Asiatic home may be mentioned as another disputable element in his book. But in the support of it, as in his whole discussion of the movements of the races he treats, he makes skilful and impressive use of the argument from "consonances onomastiques".

F. N. ROBINSON.

Zur Kulturgeschichte Roms. Gesammelte Skizzen von Dr. Theodor Birt, o. Prof. an der Universität Marburg. (Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1909, pp. 164.) This is a small volume in a new *Wissenschaft und Bildung* collection now being issued in Germany. The object of the series is to present readable information to the "laity", and also convenient compendiums for the *Fachmann*. From such a standpoint—the popular-scientific—this book seeks to be judged, and on the whole it meets all fair tests. It is no easy matter to write a good, yet brief, *Kulturgeschichte* of Rome, and again after Friedlaender's monumental work it is still harder to write anything really original. Professor Birt professes large indebtedness to preceding modern books, but declares that his chief reliance has been a re-reading of the sources. This is undoubted, but many paragraphs are evident reminiscences of Friedlaender, Voigt, Forbiger, Duruy, and other familiar writers.

The book, however, is a decidedly useful one. In one hundred and sixty-four pages, closely printed and without illustrations, the author covers with eleven chapters all the standard topics on Roman civilization, from Arrival in Rome to Morality. References, probably following the plan of the series, are relatively few; almost none to modern writers or to the inscriptions, but a fair sprinkling to Suetonius, Juvenal,

the Younger Pliny, and especially to Seneca. The strongest part of the book is the restatement in a really vitalizing manner of certain rather familiar themes. Thus the third chapter, "Im Hause", rehearses the somewhat hackneyed facts of a Roman gentleman's daily life in a manner calculated to interest the scholar as well as the more general reader. This is sometimes done by a decidedly Gallican vivacity of style—not always in perfect taste, but which sufficiently accents the points striven after. Thus in speaking of the use of tapestry as well as frescoes to give color and variety to the interior of a Roman home, he says, "Where these are wanting, as in the Pompeianum in Aschaffenburg, which King Max of Bavaria built, a false impression is made, as does a plucked fowl" (p. 44).

It is worth noting incidentally that the author accepts 1,500,000 as the probable population of Rome, a considerably higher figure than the calculation of Beloch, but one that has much to justify it.

Certain chapters are notably inadequate: especially the fifth, "Zum Rechtsleben", which gives a general reader a totally incomplete and therefore misleading view of lawyers and legal business at Rome. The seventh chapter, "Gottesdienst und Glaube", is excellent for the old Roman religion and the cult of the emperor, but gives only a passing reference to Mithraism, something which, after the work of Cumont, is no trifling mistake.

These are details, however, and any attempt to cover so wide a subject in so narrow a space must be open to sins of omission. Speaking generally, while there are not lacking treatises in abundance on Roman civilization, probably no preceding book in German presents in like space so comprehensive, scholarly, and withal so readable a survey as does this. If it were translated into English it would prove useful as a handy text in college classes studying Roman antiquities.

WILLIAM STEARNS DAVIS.

A Guide to the Study of Church History. By W. J. McGlothlin, Ph.D., D.D. (Louisville, Kentucky, Baptist World Publishing Company, 1908, pp. 264.) This epitome is the first recent attempt to supply the pressing need of an English handbook which shall pilot theological and other students on their maiden voyage down the rapids of church history. In this particular Germany has led the way with Weingarten's *Zeittafeln zur Kirchengeschichte*, J. Werner's all too brief *Tabellen zur Dogmengeschichte*, and the still uncompleted Heussi's *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte*. The title of the present work, *Guide to the Study of Church History*, leads one to expect something similar to the sketch by W. E. Collins, *The Study of Church History*, if not a more elaborate book such as was attempted in the late thirties by the erudite Dowling. One is therefore disappointed to read in the preface that this volume, in addition to furnishing "a basis for lecturing", is to serve merely as "a guide to the best known manuals", such as "Newman (Baptist),

Hurst (Methodist), Kurtz (Lutheran), and Alzog (Catholic)". These orthodox though far from unimpeachable standard works the student is to supplement with books like Schaff and Möller. The references at the head of each section, which account for the use of the word "Guide" in the title, consist merely of the page numbers of Newman and others to which the inquiring mind may turn. The text itself, which is minutely subdivided and carefully indexed, deals chiefly with the history of Christianity in Europe and North America, and comes down to the present. Most of the generalizations of the author are excellent, but occasionally he attains condensation at the expense of precision. Is it, for instance, true that the Interdict (p. 93) denies a whole community "all the blessings of religion for a period"? Is it fair, in outlining the rise of Mohammedanism (p. 71), not to allude to the degeneracy of Egyptian and Syrian Christianity which rendered most of its adherents incapable not merely of parrying the sword but also of resisting the fiery spiritual enthusiasm of Islam? How is it possible, in view of the researches of Thatcher and others, to circulate the unqualified statement (p. 103): "Ireland was given by the pope to the English king (1154)"? Blemishes like these occur too frequently. The eulogistic appreciations by twelve prominent professors of church history, which are on a little yellow slip accompanying the volume, will perhaps be more fully merited should the work undergo in its second edition a somewhat minute revision.

WILLIAM WALKER ROCKWELL.

Welsh Medieval Law: being a Text of the Laws of Howel the Good, namely, the British Museum Harleian MS. 4353 of the 13th Century, with Translation, Introduction, Appendix, Glossary, Index, and a Map. By A. W. Wade-Evans, Jesus College. (Oxford, the Clarendon Press, 1909, pp. xcvi, 395.) Mr. Wade-Evans's volume is of interest to students of any phase of early Welsh history, and is of particular value as a contribution toward the exact analysis of Welsh law. In the best previous edition of the laws, that of Aneurin Owen, the text is compiled from a number of sources and does not represent any distinct manuscript tradition or make easy the isolation of one for separate study. But the present editor has selected a single local code, that known as the Book of Cyfnerth, and published what appears to be the oldest and best manuscript of it. This is printed in the clear and handsome typography familiar to all users of Rhys and Evans's series of Welsh texts; the line-divisions, the punctuation, and even the more minute differences of spacing in the manuscript being so carefully reproduced that the printed page almost serves the purpose of a photographic facsimile. If the copy is as accurate as its careful execution would lead one to suppose, it is an important addition to the textual resources of Welsh scholars, whether for historical or for philological investigations.

The translation is close and painstaking. Mr. Wade-Evans acknowledges great indebtedness to the earlier translation of Aneurin Owen and makes no claim of finality for his own, since the technical vocabulary of Welsh law is still far from thoroughly understood. But he takes up in his glossary many of the questions at issue, and makes some advance toward their solution.

The introduction contains a careful description of the manuscripts, in the preparation of which the editor had the assistance of the veteran Welsh palaeographer Mr. Gwenogfryn Evans, and a brief account of Welsh history down to the time of Howel the Good. The opinions set forth in the historical chapter are some of them doubtful and some of them in frank opposition to established doctrine. Of the former sort must be reckoned the adoption of the year 428 as the date of the Anglo-Saxon invasion, though Mr. Wade-Evans is here in agreement with some of the best recent opinion. (For an extended review of the evidence, with a decision in favor of a later date, see Mr. H. M. Chadwick's *Origin of the English Nation*, pp. 35 ff.) More distinctly heretical is his denial of Gildas's authorship of the *De Excidio Britanniae*, an opinion for which he argued at length in a series of articles in the *Celtic Review* for 1905. The general object of the historical sketch is to show the steady growth of the Welsh nationality and to protest against the view that every stage in the Cymric advance was "the convulsive effort of a dying people to regain some of the glory of the past".

The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Twenty-sixth Year of the Reign of King Henry the Second, A. D. 1179-1180. [Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, volume XXIX.] (London, published for the Society by the St. Catherine Press, 1908, pp. xxxiv, 200.) In the preface to this volume the editor, Mr. C. Trice Martin, makes a full and welcome statement of the practice adopted by him in extending a large number of words and phrases, the extension of which is doubtful. The brief introduction, which, as usual, is contributed by Mr. J. H. Round, sums up in masterly fashion the instruction to be gathered from the roll. Among the matters illustrated are the changes in the arrangement of the judicial circuits assigned early in 1179; corporate payments by municipalities; fines from wreckers and from those who concealed wreckers' deeds; the minting of the new coinage; the progress of the various buildings erected at the royal charge; expenses in Ireland; feudal payments, many of which afford genealogical information; and fines from those who had incurred the king's displeasure or who wished to buy his favor. Mr. Round points out that for part of the year 1180, when the king was in Normandy, the Exchequer Roll of Normandy supplements the English record.

Reginald Pecock's Book of Faith: a Fifteenth Century Theological Tractate. Edited from the Manuscript in the Library of Trinity Col-

lege, Cambridge, with an Introductory Essay by J. L. Morison, M.A., Professor of History in Queen's University, Kingston. (Glasgow, James Maclehose and Sons, 1909, pp. 315.) Reginald Pecock played an important part in the intellectual life of the English church of the fifteenth century. His was perhaps the most original mind in England between Wycliffe and the Reformation. The Renaissance had little effect upon him for it had not yet made its influence much felt outside of Italy when Pecock did most of his work. But in many ways his intellectual attitude was that of some of the more daring scholars of Italy. He was a rationalist through and through. By his conception of faith and religion he would have ultimately overthrown not merely the doctrinal teaching of the church of the times but all religion. Yet he was a bishop of a prominent see and endeavored by daring sophistry to uphold the old order. That he came to grief, was forced to recant his heresies and to spend his last years in confinement, is not surprising. Yet what influence he exerted it is hard to trace. He cannot be said to have prepared the way for the Reformation. His appeal to Scripture was neither new in scholastic theology nor in advance of that current among various obscure sects. It was not such as would have made him welcomed as an ally by the reformers. His conception of faith was little more than an attenuation of that which had plagued the medieval church from the times of St. Augustine. It certainly would not have led him to throw in his lot with Luther. Yet he was a powerful and original thinker whose writings in spite of their proximity, obscurity, and general awkwardness impress the reader. Professor Morison has carefully edited Pecock's least known but probably most important and characteristic work, *The Book of Faith*. In this work Pecock goes to the root of the matter and defends his position, which appeals strongly to the modern mind, without resort to that conscienceless sophistry which delighted him in the *Repressor*. The editor has wisely reproduced exactly the form of the only manuscript in which the work has been preserved from the general destruction of Pecock's writings. He has provided it with a fairly satisfactory glossary and some brief notes. There is a useful summary prefixed which is of help in following the argument of the writer and there are some interesting essays on Pecock's life and place in ecclesiastical thought. The most important of these is on Pecock's Contribution to English Thought. That the editor makes out that he really contributed anything we fail to see. If ever there was a voice crying in the wilderness and without success it was Pecock. The connection with the rationalistic tendencies of later scholasticism are not sufficiently emphasized by the editor. It would have been well to have pointed out just how Pecock differed from the nominalists in his conception of faith, the place of the Bible, and the authority of the Church. Space might easily have been spared from the essay on the Ecclesiastical

Point of View for some such study. But we have the book itself and the editor well deserves thanks for his work.

JOSEPH CULLEN AYER, JR.

Les Origines de la Réforme. Tome II. L'Église Catholique, la Crise et la Renaissance. Par Imbart de la Tour, Professeur à l'Université de Bordeaux. (Paris, Hachette et Cie., 1909, pp. viii, 592.) After the lapse of four years the author has followed *La France Moderne* (see AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XI, 367) with this second volume of the projected series, which is to be continued by tome III., *L'Évangélisme*, and tome IV., *Calvin et l'Institution Chrétienne*. The book falls into four great divisions. Under the head of "Théocratie et Nationalisme" it treats of the papacy especially in relation to France, involving the question of Gallicanism and the attempt to work out some of its practical corollaries in a council which convened at Pisa in 1511. The second caption, "Les Abus", depicts the extraordinary decentralization of the French church, which produced disorder especially in regard to appointments, finances, and the morals of the clergy. The next topic, "La Culture Nouvelle", deals specifically with the Renaissance in France, and with Christian Humanism; and this discussion is followed by the fourth and last main division, "Léon X et la Renaissance Religieuse", which describes the Concordat of 1516, the attempts at reform, and the intellectual ferment which tended to produce schism.

M. Imbart de la Tour criticizes both those historians who have tried to explain the Protestant Revolution by reference to the rationalism and individualism inherent in the Renaissance, and also those specialists who have attempted to account for it by assuming a paganized Catholicism, morally and religiously dead, over against which Protestantism would appear to be merely the revival of primitive Christian faith and life. Rejecting such abstract schematism, the author desires to study his period from the sources, endeavoring meanwhile never to separate the history of religion from the history of society. Besides making good use of printed documents already familiar, he has brought away a large number of interesting details from manuscripts preserved mostly in the libraries and archives of Rome and of Paris. This rich material, which he has worked up with due reference to the results of Pastor, as well as those of Rocquain and other French historians, he has woven into a narrative which is usually clear and often fascinating. A task presenting so many difficulties as does the exposition of the actual workings of the cumbrous governmental and financial machinery of the decentralized church of France has here been performed with true Gallic spirit. The parts of the book which deal with the intellectual development, though less fresh, have been prepared with scarcely less research. The work as a whole may not alter profoundly current views of the genesis of the

Reformation; but its impressive stores of evidence can be ignored by no student of the sixteenth century.

WILLIAM WALKER ROCKWELL.

The Christian Daimyos: a Century of Religious and Political History in Japan (1549-1650). By M. Steichen. (Tsukiji, Tokyo, Gakuin Press, 1909, pp. xi, 369.) The Abbé M. Steichen of the Roman Catholic Mission in Tokio has done a good service in reprinting in revised and enlarged form from *The Japan Mail* his historical studies of Japan's one Christian century. His long residence on the soil and scholarly familiarity with the vernacular are elements which, added to his unwearied diligence, make this work of the highest value. Japan's initial contact with Europe in the sixteenth century and the causes of its break are well worthy of study. The abundant contemporaneous literature in Latin and Italian, and the native Japanese histories, have all been put under tribute by the author, who is a keen sympathizer with, as he is a successor of, the missionaries of southern Europe.

Around three of the greatest personages in Japanese history, Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Iyeyasu, politics moved, and with their rise and fall, life and death, the fortunes of the Christians seemed to fluctuate. On no worse time, one would think, could the propagators of the religion of Jesus have fallen. Under such circumstances, it would seem a moral impossibility for the faith to have taken root too deep to have been blown down or extirpated.

Naturally under the feudal system, the common people were little more than serfs and the rule *cujus regio, ejus religio* was custom and law. The masses believed or recanted, with noble but exceptional instances of refusal and independence, at the word of their daimyos, that is, castle lords, or holders of the feudal fiefs. In the later years various troubles and economic questions were mixed with those of religion and politics. Besides admirable indexes, the abbé gives us a list of the Christian daimyos, formerly and now, in which are reckoned sixty heads of families, of which one-third are extinct or are now represented by a rank higher than that of the ancestral. Thus the table presents vividly a conspectus of the rise and fall of families, despite the almost universal practice of adoption. The abbé scans the letters of the Jesuits to find reasons that were better discovered in the intense jealousy of the Japanese, kindled not only by the bulls of popes but by the actions of Spaniards and Portuguese, who proceeded to carry out the provisions of the bulls according to their notions of piety and obedience. His particular castigation of one American author for his mistakes in translation, for example, made over thirty years ago and not repeated, is amusing but is also marring. These outbursts of subjectivity do not, however, detract greatly from a highly valuable monograph.

A Short History of Puritanism. By James Heron, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Belfast. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908, pp. viii, 206.) This is an admirable handbook presenting in brief compass a clear and consecutive history of the main current of English Puritanism from its earliest manifestation in the medieval church to its decadence under Charles II. Dr. Heron has here given the reader the benefit of his sound scholarship, graceful style, and wide reading, and presents a book delightful to read and useful as a guide to those who do not find it easy to trace through larger works the ramifications of the Puritan movement.

The Curious Case of Lady Purbeck: a Scandal of the XVIIIth Century. (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1909, pp. ix, 148.) It is unfortunate that a great deal of hard work and no small amount of ability in historical investigation is being spent not on the more vital problems and puzzles of the past but on relatively insignificant and, as in the present case, more or less unsavory incidents of sentimental or semi-romantic character. The marriage of Sir Edward Coke and Lady Hatton, their domestic infelicities, and their connection with public affairs, the marriage of their daughter Frances Hatton to Sir John Villiers, her infidelity, imprisonment, and escape to France, had, indeed, much interest for their contemporaries. Even now as a choice bit of scandal and intrigue, though somewhat dulled by time, they may rouse passing curiosity. But, though they are set forth in near a hundred and fifty octavo pages of rather elaborate narrative, provided with proper historical setting and told not without spirit, one is still tempted to believe that Gardiner's three pages on this seventeenth century *cause célèbre* is nearer its actual value in affairs than a story of this length. The doing of this piece of investigation must have been a pleasure, the reading of it is not uninteresting. But there are many questions better worth while. The inclusion of more concerning the curious Danvers case which grew out of this scandal would have afforded an interesting addition to the narrative. One may note, incidentally, that the Petition of Right (p. 109) is not usually nor properly given a final *s*, and that though Coke was prominent in the subcommittee which drew up that document he is not generally credited with having himself "framed" it. Certainly it is stretching language if not facts to say that after his retirement Coke is supposed to have encouraged his neighbor Hampden in his "plots" against the court. The whole account seems carefully done and, in the main, from unexceptionable contemporary authorities, with fully adequate references. One is interested to note, on the other hand, considerable reliance on Campbell's *Lives of the Chief Justices*, especially in the introductory chapters. There is no mention of Gardiner anywhere, and no index.

L'Évolution de l'Arbitrage International. Par Thomas Willing Balch. (Philadelphia, Allen, Lane, and Scott, 1908, pp. 122.) This

brief attempt to trace the evolution of international arbitration originally appeared as an article in the *Revue de Droit International* in 1908.

The existence of sovereign and independent states is essential to a proper conception of international arbitration, says the author, hence neither Greeks nor Romans could know of it in any proper sense. Nor does he find the modern germ of this noble theory in the "grand dessein" of Henry IV, because that was really aimed at the House of Hapsburg. It is rather Éméric Crucé, a French publicist, in his *Le Nouveau Cynée* (Paris, 1623), who should have the honor of the first plan to settle international differences by arbitration instead of war. Of this little work but two copies are known, one in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the other in the Library of Harvard University. Crucé was a broad-minded man, an advocate of religious liberty, dimly conceiving of international trade as a pacifying force. His scheme was that ambassadors should argue their countries' causes before an international tribunal in Venice, and several scholars are cited as referring to this plan during the ensuing fifty years. To give Crucé his proper due is clearly one of Mr. Balch's objects in writing this article. After Crucé came William Penn, the Abbé de Saint Pierre, Bentham, and Kant, each with his own more or less visionary plan making for peace. Early precedents for the settlement of disputes by arbitral arrangement under treaty are also cited: the Treaty of Westminster in 1655; of Ryswick in 1697; Jay's treaty in 1794; the case of the *General Armstrong* in 1851. Into the Alabama claims case and the negotiation leading up to the Treaty of Washington in 1871, the author goes at some length, emphasizing the honorable part played by Mr. Thomas Balch in bringing the two nations into accord.

Then follow the Behring Sea Arbitration, that of Venezuela with Great Britain over their common boundary, finally the arbitral system set up by the First Hague Conference, and its results. This calls for no special comment. The point of the whole essay is that the ideal of Éméric Crucé given to the world nearly three hundred years ago is now essentially realized.

T. S. WOOLSEY.

A Descriptive Catalogue of the Naval Manuscripts in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge. Edited by J. R. Tanner, Litt.D. Volume III. *Admiralty Letters*. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, Volume XXXVI.] (Printed for the Society, 1909, pp. liii, 458.) Six years ago the Navy Records Society issued the first volume of a descriptive catalogue of the naval manuscripts in the Pepysian Library of Magdalene College, Cambridge, under the editorship of Mr. J. R. Tanner. The second volume appeared in 1904 and now, after an interval of five years, the third volume, announced for 1908, makes a somewhat belated appearance. It comprises the official correspondence of the Secretary to the Admiralty from January 1, 1674/1675, to May 7, 1677, comprising volumes IV, and V, of Pepys's

Admiralty letters. Like its predecessors the present volume contains an introduction calling attention to various matters of interest classified under nine heads, administration, finance, men, pay, victuals, discipline, ships, guns, and miscellaneous. It includes also, beside the four hundred pages of calendars proper, a very elaborate index, and a further Index of Letters to the Commissioners of the Customs about Passes. Under this somewhat cumbrous descriptive title is to be found a long alphabetical list of vessels, their ports of origin, masters, present stations, and destinations, with appropriate references to the calendars. The whole forms a volume which, apart from the introduction, is, of course, eminently unreadable, but no less eminently useful. Covering as it does an important period in political as well as naval history the present volume offers interesting material on English sea-power in the Mediterranean, the war with Tripoli, and difficulties with Algiers, the removal of English subjects from Surinam, troubles in Tangier, the affairs of Newfoundland, and Wood's disastrous voyage in the *Speedwell* to find the Northeast Passage. To students of American history the most interesting and important part of these papers are those relating to Sir John Berry's expedition to put down the Bacon Rebellion in Virginia, concerning which many documents are here calendared. Much material is also adduced regarding the development of the navy after 1675, and the accounts of the various experiments then tried in building, arming, and equipping vessels form an instructive chapter in the history of naval construction. And apart from the light thus cast on English affairs by land and sea during the Restoration one of the most interesting and important results of the publication of these papers is the rehabilitation of Samuel Pepys, that ablest of Admiralty secretaries, so long disguised as a gossipy diarist.

W. C. ABBOTT.

Une Merveilleuse (M^{me} Hamelin), 1776-1851. Par Alfred Marquiset. (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1909, pp. 305.) If the character and career of Madame Hamelin merit a volume for their record, or if there exist family papers of historical importance, Monsieur Marquiset has failed to prove the former or to reveal the latter. From this volume it would be difficult to compile enough biographical facts for a suitable encyclopedia article. Upon this slender thread are strung denunciations of "Robespierre . . . et autres brigands", somewhat racy descriptions of fashions and manners under the Directory, gossip of the police under Fouché and Savary, and Bonapartist lucubrations upon the Restoration. Trifling anecdotes of trivial characters yield altogether too infrequent *bons mots* to entertain the reader, and far too slight a residuum of historical facts to reward the student. A liberal number of foot-notes with citations of authorities, occasionally manuscript, and an index of names are the only evidences of the trained historian displayed in the volume.

Native of Santo Domingo, Fortunée Lormier-Lagrange was taken to

Paris at the opening of the Revolution and soon married to Monsieur Antoine Marie Romain Hamelin, but to both the marital tie was a negligible trifle. While Monsieur Hamelin followed Bonaparte to Italy to accumulate an ill-gotten fortune as army contractor, the young creole of twenty summers, like Josephine, plunged into the maddest revels of the abnormal social life of Paris, where she began a lifelong rivalry with Madame Récamier. When the influence of the rising Bonaparte banished from polite society the notorious favorites of Barras, Madame Hamelin apparently shared their fate, nevertheless she remained to her dying day a devout worshiper of the Little Corsican. As a pensioner of the imperial ministry of police she continued her butterfly career, adoring Napoleon, informing Savary, yet never losing touch with the sinister Talleyrand. Her behavior during the Hundred Days won her exile after Waterloo, but she soon intrigued her way back to Paris, where she continued her relations with Talleyrand and his satellite, her lover, Montrond, and where her salon was a resort for Bonapartists and the milder liberals, as well as for Chateaubriand and for lesser lights whose importance was chiefly literary. The pages (279-288) of extracts from her letters written from Paris during the Revolution of 1848, because of their dramatic descriptions of events, are the most meritorious portion of the book.

It is greatly to be desired that editors of memoirs and authors of biographies should sufficiently respect the ignorance and convenience of their readers to supply an adequate genealogical table of the family of their subject, which should include at least every family name which appears in the volume to puzzle the peruser.

While so many personages of the Revolution and the Empire, whose achievements, either in council or on the field, were of valid historical importance, have as yet failed to receive proper biographical investigation and record, it seems a pity that a student's time and printer's ink should be squandered upon a woman of so little character; upon the society of a discreditable epoch, which has already been admirably portrayed by the Goncourts; upon the gossip of the imperial police; and upon the exiles and malcontents of the Restoration. Of this lightweight historical literature, the recent output has been far too large.

GEORGE M. DUTCHER.

Duchesse de Dino (puis Duchesse de Talleyrand et de Sagan): Chronique de 1831 à 1862. Publiée avec des Annotations et un Index Biographique par la Princesse Radziwill née Castellane. Volume II., 1836-1840. (Paris, Plon-Nourrit et Cie., 1909, pp. 544.) This volume of the *Chronique* has even greater value for the study of Talleyrand's biography than had the first. There are two passages of remarkable interest, one, the letter written by Mme. de Dino to the Abbé Dupanloup after Talleyrand's death, reviewing carefully the steps by which Talleyrand was led to desire complete reconciliation with the Church; the

other a sketch of his characteristics, brief, clear, frank in its dealing with faults, and yet sympathetic, penetrating to the subtler forces which account for much that would ordinarily be unaccountable in conduct. This sketch was written two years after Talleyrand died and when the solitude of Mme. de Dino's estate in December stimulated her to pass in review the incidents of her life. It was the result of close observation, not merely because she had been his companion for years, but especially because from 1835 until his death she had been endeavoring to awaken in him solicitude for his religious condition. She believed that "son insouciance naturelle détournait du travail sérieux de la conscience, et le laissait dans les ténèbres", and that he applied his rare intelligence solely to questions of politics. This characteristic might have been inferred from his own confession to her during a time when sleeplessness had forced upon him recollections of many disagreeable aspects of his earlier career. He said he had done "avec une extrême légèreté" what had been held most blameworthy, "tout s'est fait sans y regarder, avec l'insouciance de ce temps-là, comme nous faisons à peu près toutes choses dans notre jeunesse." She also notes that while Talleyrand was capable of the most astonishing activity in order to attain ends which he considered important, he frequently relapsed for a long time "dans une nonchalance dont il défendait habilement les abords; il s'y barricadait, et rendait sa paresse si gracieuse qu'on se serait reproché de la troubler." The way in which he was influenced to become reconciled to the Church is mainly of strictly biographical interest, but the light these passages throw upon Talleyrand's temperament and characteristic modes of thought and action have some historical importance.

The impression of the characteristics of French political life during the first decade of the Orleanist monarchy left by the reading of the first volume is confirmed by this volume. The parliamentary leaders appear to have been divided less by differences upon questions of serious policy than by personal aims and factional jealousies. They triumph in the Chamber of Deputies in order later in the day to be admired and congratulated in the particular salon that they frequent. When serious questions arise, like the crisis of 1840, it is the calm determination of Louis Philippe not to be dragged into war which saves the country from conflict with Europe. One gains confidence in Mme. de Dino's appreciations, because her journals and letters seem remarkably free from the prejudices of the partizan; they appear to be the observations of an unusually clear-sighted and large-minded onlooker. Not the least interesting study afforded by the records of the two volumes is the refining of the mental temper and the growth of the spiritual character of the author, whose attractive personality shines more and more clearly through her own notes of experience.

H. E. BOURNE.

Signals and Instructions, 1776-1794, with Addenda to Volume XXIX.
 Edited by Julian S. Corbett, I.L.M. [Publications of the Navy Records

Society, Volume XXXV.] (Printed for the Society, 1908, pp. 403.) This latest volume issued by the Navy Records Society is supplementary to a volume (vol. XXIX. of the society's series of publications) issued in 1905 and entitled *Fighting Instructions, 1530-1816*. The two volumes form a most valuable contribution to the history of naval tactics and signalling, and will prove indispensable to students of the history of the British navy before 1816. The occasion of the publication of the second volume was the discovery of many new materials covering the period of the American Revolution and the early part of the French Revolution. The importance of these materials is greatly enhanced by the fact that naval tactics and signalling were at that time in a state of transition, the particulars of which it had been hitherto impossible to ascertain. The change consisted chiefly in basing tactics upon a signal book containing a numerary system of signals instead of upon cut and dried fighting instructions. The new system was largely the work of Admirals Howe and Kempenfelt, and was in part an adaptation of the tactics of the French. The volume under review reprints several important fighting instructions and signal books issued by these two admirals, by several other naval officers, and by the British Admiralty. In the appendix, it prints, among other documents, some additional fighting instructions for the Seven Years' War, Rodney's landing instructions, 1761-1762, a list of English works on naval tactics, and a list of British fighting instructions and signal books. There is also a "general introduction" written by the author giving a brief history of the change from the old to the new tactical system. The volume is well printed and bound and is provided with an index.

CHARLES OSCAR PAULLIN.

The Annual Register: Review of Public Events at Home and Abroad for the Year 1908. (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1909, pp. xi, 479; 174.) Approximately half the volume is devoted to English history, and these pages are mainly occupied with the sessions of Parliament, including, naturally, summaries of speeches and discussions throughout the kingdom on important questions. National defense, tariff reform, old age pensions, the education bill, the licensing bill, the Scottish land bills, South African federation, reforms in India, and the suffragist movement receive a large measure of attention. There is a special chapter on Scotland and Ireland and one (by Cuthbert Maugham) on finance and trade in 1908. Politics and events in European states are summarized in approximately 100 pages. There is a chapter on Southern Asia by Sir Charles Roe, which includes treatments of the northwest frontier and British India, and another on the Far East. Mr. H. Whates contributes a chapter on Africa and Malta and sections on Canada and Newfoundland, Mexico and Central America, the West Indies and Guiana, and South America. A brief account

of affairs in the United States and its dependencies is contributed by Mr. A. Maurice Low. The principal items treated are the presidential campaign and election, Japanese relations, "The President and Congress", and the Panama canal. Australasia is treated in a chapter of twelve pages. The retrospect of the year's literature is furnished by Lionel G. Robinson, science and art by W. T. Whitley, drama by Miss Eveline C. Godley, and music by Robin H. Legge.

No. 18 of the *Publications* of the American Jewish Historical Society (1909, pp. xxiii, 245) is mainly marked by Mr. Samuel Oppenheim's article entitled *The Early History of the Jews in New York, 1657-1664*. From papers of Hans Bontemantel of Amsterdam, a director of the Dutch West India Company, Mr. Oppenheim has derived an interesting unpublished petition of the earliest Jews in New Amsterdam, dated January, 1655, and addressed to the Company; also portions of unpublished letters of Stuyvesant, September 22, 1654, and June 10, 1656. With these, with other bits of new evidence, and with accurate translations of documents heretofore translated inaccurately (as has been the fate of most Dutch documents relating to New Netherland) Mr. Oppenheim constructs a considerably revised version of the story of the first Jewish immigrants. Mr. Max J. Kohler prints a memorial of Jews to Parliament concerning Jewish participation in colonial trade, 1696. Mr. N. Darnell Davis, C.M.G., auditor-general of British Guiana, prints some interesting notes on the history of the Jews in Barbadoes. Mr. George F. Judah extracts from the *Assemb^l, Journals* of Jamaica materials for the history of the controversy over the Jews' tribute in that island.

The Journal of the American Irish Historical Society. By Thomas Zanslaur Lee, Secretary General. Volume VIII. (Providence, R. I., The Society, 1909, pp. 313.) Owing to the death in June, 1908, of Mr. Thomas H. Murray, Secretary general of the society, no Journal for the year 1908 was issued. The present volume therefore includes the society's proceedings for two years besides a number of historical papers. The principal event in the society's history in 1908 was the dedication at the Rhode Island State House, December 16, 1908, of a bronze memorial to Major-General John Sullivan. The principal address on the occasion, which is printed in full, was by Colonel David C. Robinson of New York. The addresses delivered at the eleventh annual banquet of the society in Washington, January 16, 1909, are printed in the volume, among them that of Judge Victor J. Dowling of the Supreme Court of New York on Irish Pioneers of New York, and that of Hon. Maurice T. Maloney on the Irish Pioneers of the West and their Descendants. In the section devoted to "Historical Notes and Papers", are found a paper on "Early Marine 'Wireless'", by

Edgar S. Maclay; sketches of William Dunlap, Thomas P. Johnson, and Thomas Sharpe, distinguished Irish Americans during Revolutionary times, by J. L. O'Neill; and a brief account of the life and works of Eli Thayer, noted for his efforts in behalf of "Free Soil". There are numerous excellent portraits in the volume, but unfortunately the index is merely the table of contents arranged in alphabetical order.

The Story of New Netherland: the Dutch in America. By William Elliot Griffiths. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909, pp. xv, 292.) Approximately one-half of this volume is devoted to the "story" of New Netherland; then follow chapters purporting to treat of social institutions, topics in the later history of the province, the Dutch Domines in the Revolution, and the Modern Pilgrim Fathers. The author has avowedly purposed making a serious contribution to our knowledge of New Netherland history but the book can justify no such pretension. A critical spirit is wholly lacking. The meagre historical narrative is interspersed with much matter of merely antiquarian interest and the author's frequent generalizations. All is colored with a hackneyed sentimentality over things "Dutch" and an exuberant admiration for "Patria" unsupported by any orderly presentation of her contemporary institutions. The style is often exaggerated, sometimes undignified. Of the more than two hundred lines that make up the chapter on Rensselaerswyck—the author apparently attempting to preserve the older Dutch form erroneously calls it Rensselaerwijk—less than twenty lines, narrating the founding of the settlement in 1630, are all that relate to its history, though this is the second chapter dealing with the so-called patroonships. The rest are largely devoted to these topics—their relevancy is obvious: the soil of Rensselaerswyck was sacred and classic in Iroquois tradition, Commandant Crol's invention of that "toothsome delicacy of high repute", the cruller, the history of "Anneke" Janse, the Dunkirk pirates, and how the flaming torch came to be added to the Van Rensselaer arms. This is typical of the treatment throughout the volume. The author's short bibliography is equally characteristic. Within its thirty odd titles, it makes several serious omissions, some minor errors, and as one of the "authorities used in the preparation of this volume", it names under its Dutch title, *Volkomen Woordenboek*, Sewel's well-known Dutch-English dictionary.

S. G. NISSESON.

The Story of the Old Boston Town House, 1658-1711. By Josiah Henry Benton, LL.D. (Boston, privately printed, 1908, pp. xii, 61.) The volume before us offers little if anything that is new, but is a well arranged compilation of excerpts from documents not far to seek. In fact, Whitmore's historical survey, in his *Old State House Memorial*, gives the vital facts and prints many of the excerpts from documents here used. Sewall's *Diary*, Dunton's *Journal*, Shurtleff's *Colony Records*, and the *Selectmen's Minutes* are the main sources drawn

upon. The value of Mr. Benton's work lies in the fact that he brings together in a compact and graceful form known incidents in the history of the Town House, and of the vigorous life which surged in and around it. His material is grouped under several headings to show the different uses of the building, such as colony and town uses, as a place of public records, as a place of worship, as the capitol of the colonial and provincial governments, and as a court house.

Mr. Benton thinks to give an insight into the manner of life of the colonists by the "language of the records of the time". He states that the "location of the streets and of the houses of the prominent citizens, the market, the church, the jail, the meeting-places for the various official bodies, the customs of the colony in respect to trade, to the punishment of crime, to education, and to the worship of God are all to be found in the records of those early years". In this exposition he does not appear to have explored any nook or corner that has not been exposed before, or added any new shade or dapple to the canvas of colonial Boston. It is well known that there is no view of the Town House, which was destroyed by fire in 1711, and replaced by the "Old State House", so that for its description reliance has to be had upon papers preserved in the Massachusetts Historical Society, and which are printed in Whitmore's *Memorial*, as well as in Mr. Benton's work. Mr. Benton, however, has had a plan made from these, and he prints this as "a substantially correct view of the Town House as it appeared from the East and West, and also giving floor plans of the building".

Mr. Benton's volume is irreproachable in form, typography, and illustration, and while not a contribution to history is a useful exposition of the history of an historical building.

In a well-illustrated pamphlet of eighty-four pages, entitled *Colonel John Quincy, Master of Mount Wollaston, Provincial Statesman, Colonel of the Suffolk Regiment, Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, Member of His Majesty's Council*, Rev. Daniel M. Wilson has printed a memorial address which he prepared with the aid of Mr. Charles Francis Adams, and which was delivered at the dedication of a tablet in Quincy, Massachusetts, to the memory of Colonel John Quincy (1689-1767), for whom the town was named—as was also his grandson John Quincy Adams. Colonel Quincy, who represented Braintree twenty-eight years in the General Court and was speaker during twelve years, was an important public character of the provincial period. Mr. Wilson has described his career carefully, interestingly, and in such a manner as to exhibit his relation to the general history of the province.

Puritanism in the South. By J. Edward Kirby. (Boston, The Pilgrim Press, 1909, pp. iv, 144.) This is an interesting little volume apparently made up of a number of articles reprinted from some period-

ical. The style is journalistic, and the matter is determined by temporary interest rather than historical value. Its importance lies in its fitness to awaken interest in an important and neglected field of Southern history, and its recognition of the fact that the truth has long been obscured by popular prejudices. Unfortunately the author is inadequately equipped with detailed knowledge of the history of English institutions, and has not given his specific subject sufficient investigation to make his results important. He recognizes the importance of distinguishing between English Puritans and their Scotch-Irish and Huguenot congeners, and says in his preface: "It has been my purpose more particularly to write of the English Puritan, although in the sketch on North Carolina there were so few of these that it was necessary to include . . . the Scotch-Irish." But the confusion is by no means confined to the sketch of North Carolina, and the divisive issue between Presbyterianism and Independency which constantly forces itself upon the attention is not studied as it deserves.

The author makes clear the absurdity of the claim of the "old South" to an essentially Cavalier descent, and wrestles frequently with the incongruity of a Calvinistic community holding slaves, but without reaching any very tenable justification. He fails to see the relation between the spirit of Independency and a strong assertion of local self-government, and gives only meagre glimpses of such characteristic movements as the Puritan effort to dominate Maryland in the seventeenth century, and the anti-slavery Independent church movement in the nineteenth.

It is scarcely necessary to point out minor mistakes in a volume which is not to be taken as serious history and which has no index. The repeated reference to Englishmen of the seventeenth century as "peasants", to the tenants of an English manor as "serfs", and the association of the victors of the Battle of King's Mountain with the Mecklenburg Declaration, may however be cited as indicative of a want of grasp of the main historical background.

The Romance of American Expansion. By H. Addington Bruce. (New York, Moffat, Yard, and Company, 1909, pp. xiii, 246.) Written originally for publication in one of our better-grade weeklies, Mr. Bruce's sketches of American expansion are distinctly popular in both subject-matter and method of treatment. It is not claimed that the specialist will find in them anything that is new. At the same time they are not unworthy of perpetuation in book form, because they are sane, well written, and, so far as they go, generally superior to the works of their class with which our shelves have grown crowded in recent years. Mr. Bruce does not undertake a history of our successive acquisitions of territory. He merely selects eight personages who, as he says, "were pre-eminent among their contemporaries in each of the forward steps in the movement from sea to sea", and sketches in

hold strokes the relations of these men with the territorial problems of their times. The eight men selected are Boone, Jefferson, Jackson, Houston, Benton, Fremont, Seward, and McKinley. The method is subject to obvious limitations, and the tendency might easily be to distort the perspective by over-emphasizing the influence of these successive personalities; but, after all, it is difficult to see that Mr. Bruce really attributes anything more to Jefferson, for example, than does Henry Adams, or to Houston than does Professor Garrison.

The title of the book carries a suggestion of flamboyancy which, happily, proves on the whole unfounded. For while the author puts too much stress, perhaps, upon what he calls the inevitableness of American expansion, he has very successfully avoided the pitfall of spread-eagleism; and that is a principal reason why as a book for popular reading the volume is to be commended. At the same time, Mr. Bruce is a frankly avowed expansionist. He affirms that "from beginning to end there is little to regret and much to admire in the story of American expansion", and he distinctly suggests that the end of annexations is not yet. "The nation", he declares, "is still young, still vigorous, still ambitious. Great things lie before it. And as it has done in the past, so will it do in the future—reach out, extend, grow." But having delivered himself of these sufficiently mystical assertions, he abandons generalization and in the body of his book holds pretty satisfactorily to the conventional facts. In the citation of these there appears to be almost absolute immunity from error. The style, though generally agreeable, is marred by an occasional crudity of expression, *e. g.*, the statement (p. 47) that in the spring of 1803 "France did not have the Floridas to sell."

FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG.

The Great Lakes: the Vessels that Plough Them, their Owners, their Sailors, and their Cargoes, together with a Brief History of our Inland Seas. By James Oliver Curwood. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909, pp. xvi, 227.) The avowed purpose of this work—to make the life of the Great Lakes better known—is well accomplished. The "actual facts" to which the author is devoted warrant strong presentation. Although he too much assumes a general ignorance on the reader's part, and although the reader could spare some journalistic exploitation of the picturesque and the big, Mr. Curwood has done good service in showing the importance of the Great Lakes in the national economy and in writing these inspiring records of great individual successes won by the "vikings and iron barons of the inland seas". He gives us statistics of passenger traffic, of coal and ore, and points warningly to the shrinking lumber trade, with a warranted word of rebuke to state and national governments for not compelling preservation and scientific renewal of forests.

Part II., dealing with the "origin and history" of the lakes, is scant

and inadequate. On some topics, as for example, the western travels of Stephen Brûlé, unqualified statements are made which a careful study of the subject will not warrant. The abandonment of Fort Denonville on the Niagara in 1688 was not because "the Senecas besieged the fort with such success that less than a dozen of its defenders escaped with their lives" (p. 178), but because the garrison was depleted by scurvy. The distorted account of the Devil's Hole massacre in 1763 shows that the author has wholly misconceived the nature of the action. The Indians were not ambushed "in the gloomy chasm" (p. 189), but at the roadside far above the chasm. A second ambush was still further from the Hole. The British did not surrender Fort Niagara and the Niagara frontier to the Americans on July 4, 1796 (p. 192), but on August 11. The inaccurate and perfunctory attempt to review in a few pages the history of two centuries adds nothing to a work which otherwise well accomplishes its purpose. Maps and many illustrations add to its attractiveness.

The Story of the Great Lakes. By Edward Channing, Professor of History in Harvard University, and Marion Florence Lansing. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909, pp. ix, 398.) This title is, in a measure, a misnomer. The book is less the story of the Great Lakes than chapters from the history of the regions contiguous to the lakes. It summarizes the narratives of Champlain, the Jesuit missionaries, La Salle, Cadillac, and the founding of Detroit, and of subsequent periods; being, for the most part, a pleasant retelling of facts familiar to the student and long accessible in works of established repute.

Much is omitted; too much, sometimes, to make what is told an adequate presentation of the subject. Thus, although a chapter is devoted to the conspiracy of Pontiac, no mention is made of the massacre of the Devil's Hole, the one signal outbreak of that period east of Detroit. Chapters on General Lewis Cass and Reorganization, the Black Hawk War, the Story of a Raid, etc., are but remotely related to the author's avowed theme; while Lincoln and Douglas in Chicago, the subject of one chapter, has about as much to with the story of the Great Lakes as it has with the story of Barnegat. To introduce a political episode in a lake city, as a part of the history of the lakes, reveals so inadequate a conception of what such a history should be, that one is not surprised to find only the scantiest review of lake operations under the French and British notwithstanding that a wealth of documentary material for those periods, as yet largely unused by writers, is of easy access in the archives of Ottawa, London, and Paris. The adequate history of the Great Lakes is yet to be written.

In nothing is the present work more eccentric than in its illustrations, some of them drawn from strange sources without credit, *c. g.*, "Through the Locks of Lockport" is a reproduction of Bartlett's engraving of 1838, with no suggestion of anything that has existed at the

Lockport locks for half a century; yet the reader is left to discover—if he can—whether the view is an antique or up-to-date. The frontispiece, a portrait of La Salle, also uncredited, is the reproduction of a lithograph published in Gravier's work on the explorer (Paris, 1870), said to be based on a portrait in the public library of Rouen, but apparently, like all La Salle's portraits, of dubious authenticity.

Dr. Walter F. Dodd's book on *The Government of the District of Columbia* (Washington, John Byrne and Company, pp. 298), while primarily a description of the federal and municipal administration of the District, also contains in its opening chapters an historical review of the various governments to which the District has been subjected from 1791 to the present time. The historical portion of the book is confined to forty pages, but is accurately and clearly written.

An Historical Review of Waterways and Canal Construction in New York State. By Henry Wayland Hill, LL.D. [Buffalo Historical Society Publications, Volume XII., edited by Frank H. Severance.] (Buffalo, The Society, 1909, pp. xiv, 549.) This is the first of two volumes announced by the Buffalo Historical Society on the canal policy of the state of New York. The second volume is in press and will contain besides the proceedings of the Buffalo Historical Society in the usual form a series of papers on several phases of recent canal history in New York. Mr. Hill's volume is written from the viewpoint of a legislator of long experience and a popular "canal champion". The work aims at a comprehensive survey of the whole history of the state canals. The chapters devoted to the early history of the several canals follow the well-trodden paths. There is no evidence that the author has used any new material, though a great many unpublished manuscripts practically unexploited are now available. As one might expect, a large part, a few pages over half of the book, deals with the legislative history of the barge canal and the progress of the new canal policy. This part constitutes a valuable contribution by one speaking from the inside. It is singularly fair and free from personal animosities for a work of the kind. The impartial record of the anti-canal forces and the methods employed in the memorable campaign of 1903 (pp. 340-394) ought to receive especial commendation. However, the spirit of the advocate permeates the whole. The massing of opinion constitutes the usual argument. The author presents, in short, a strong case for a particular state policy but the individual factor in the historical development of a commercial policy is constantly brought forward, and the economic forces working in conjunction with the law-maker are scarcely recognized. The book was manifestly written to advocate a particular commercial policy, in itself probably the wisest, but the object has frequently greatly influenced the historical perspective. It seems to the reviewer, too, that the work has been seriously marred by the constant insertions of long quotations from the speeches

of assemblymen which are significant only as expressions of individual opinion, and which moreover are easily obtained by those who would read them. This practice retards and confuses the narrative and gives the impression of padding. The editorial work in respect to typography and freedom from annoying errors is especially well done.

E. J. B.

When Railroads were New. By Charles Frederick Carter. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1909, pp. xiv, 324.) It would be unfair to subject Mr. Carter's entertaining sketches to the criticism that would be invited by a book professing scholarship, for he has avowedly only gathered in a comfortable volume a series of popular magazine articles on the antiquities of railroading. In preparing these, he has read faithfully in the *American Railroad Journal*, which he has cited occasionally, though not often enough to indicate to the general reader the extent of his indebtedness to it. He has also handled many of the special books in the short bibliography of transportation in America. His attempt has been to pick out picturesque episodes in the early history of railroads. The first roads, the first rolling stock, the first conductors—even the well-known colored fireman who first sat on the safety valve—are all described in an easy journalistic way. Few of the salient facts in the history of railroads before 1850 have been entirely overlooked, and his pages bristle with the exact dates for the beginnings of things. These dates are generally correct, although the reader is compelled to accept them on the unsupported statement of the author.

The absence of better books on the subject gives to this a real value. Its contents are not accessible elsewhere in any single volume. Its illustrations, most of them common enough, have not been assembled before. Its index is complete. But it needs to be said that the book is in no sense a history of railroads even in their earlier period or in a popular way. Mr. Carter has not been possessed by the idea of transportation as a living problem, and he has not seen either the continuity of his subject or its intimate relation to Western life. Yet his book, successful in what it tries to do, reveals the possibilities of a subject that clamors for an adequate historical treatment.

* FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

History of the Swedes of Illinois. In three parts. Edited by Ernst W. Olson in collaboration with Anders Schön and Martin J. Engberg. (Chicago, The Engberg-Holmberg Publishing Company, 1908, pp. 933; 416; 268.) Of the two volumes that compose this work, the second is devoted wholly to biographical sketches of Swedish-Americans who have attained at least local prominence. While work of this character may have its value, it has no real claim to space in this journal. The first volume is, however, a serious attempt to trace

the growth of Swedish settlements in Illinois and to measure the achievements of the Swedish-American citizenship. Two introductory chapters summarize briefly the history of Illinois and of Chicago. These are neither necessary to the development of the plan nor particularly valuable as historical narratives; writers who regard the Quebec Act as "the first action of Parliament that aroused actual dissatisfaction among the colonists" (p. 30) can hardly be regarded as authorities on colonial history. On the subject of Swedish immigration, however, they are widely and thoroughly informed. Of peculiar interest is their account of the Bishop Hill colony, an experiment that furnishes many parallels to the recent establishment at Zion City. The narrative is prefaced by a clear statement of the conditions in the national church that led to the exodus in 1845.

Nearly 300 pages are given to the development of churches; but as the most complete expression of Swedish nationality is found in transplanted Lutheranism, the extent of space given is not disproportionate. The authors are probably in error in holding that the first Swedish Lutheran church in the West was organized at Andover, Illinois, in 1850; the honor seems rather to belong to the church at New Sweden, Iowa, where religious worship and ministrations began in 1848. While the chief attention is given to the Lutheran organization, other religious movements are noted and discussed with evident appreciation.

In the military record of their nationality the authors naturally take great pride. It is estimated that one-fifth of the entire Swedish population of Illinois volunteered during the Civil War (p. 627); and the immigrant was usually not a raw recruit, but a trained soldier from the armies of the fatherland. The achievements of Swedes in other fields—politics, education, literature, journalism, music, and art—receive due attention. The volume closes with an appropriate chapter on the Swedish Historical Society.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

The Struggle for Imperial Unity: Recollections and Experiences. By Colonel George T. Denison, President of the British Empire League in Canada. (London and New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909, pp. x, 422.) From the standpoint of a student of political thought in Canada about the only chapters in Colonel Denison's *The Struggle for Imperial Unity* that are of appreciable value are those which are concerned with the short-lived Imperial Federation movement as this movement was developed in the Dominion and in England. The Imperial Federation League was organized in London in 1884. It was dissolved in November, 1893. The Imperial Federation League in Canada, which was associated with the league in London, was organized at Montreal in May, 1885. Colonel Denison was one of the most active members of the organization in Canada. He was in at the death, or rather at the funeral of the league in London, in 1893; and in the

chapters devoted to the aims and work of the two organizations there is a more complete history of the Imperial Federation movement in Canada as well as in England than has so far found a place in any other volume.

For nearly forty years Colonel Denison's position has been that it is treason for a Canadian to discuss either annexation to the United States or political independence for Canada; and many pages of these recollections and experiences are devoted to his controversies with Mr. Goldwin Smith, and to his opposition to Mr. Smith's position as to the future political relation of Canada to the United States. The spirit in which Colonel Denison set himself in opposition to Mr. Smith is typical of the spirit in which *The Struggle for Imperial Unity* is written. One brief quotation will consequently serve to determine the place of Colonel Denison's book in the political literature of Canada. It is from a letter—written in 1896—in which Colonel Denison objected to Mr. Goldwin Smith's being asked to respond to the toast of "Canada" at a dinner of the Canadian Press Association. Mr. Goldwin Smith, Colonel Denison then wrote, "is the most potent element to-day in preparing the Yankee mind to take up the question of annexation. A belief in the States that we were favorable to annexation would do more than any possible cause to bring on an attempt to secure annexation by force. This belief led to the attempts in 1775 and 1812. In view of this Goldwin Smith's conduct is treason of the worst kind." From no point of view is Colonel Denison's book one that can be helpful to neighborly relations between Canada and the United States; but it is one that will not find many more appreciative readers in Canada than it will in this country, for Canadians have long declined to take Colonel Denison as seriously as he takes himself. E. P.

La Intervencion Francesa en México, segun el Archivo del Mariscal Bazaine. Quinta, Sexta, Septima Parte. [Documentos Inéditos ó muy Raros para la Historia de México, edited by Genaro García. Tomos XX., XXII., XXIV.] (Mexico, Bouret, 1908, 1909, 1909, pp. 270, 266, 268.) With commendable industry Señor García continues to publish successive volumes of his series of documents selected from the archives of Marshal Bazaine. The fifth, sixth, and seventh parts cover respectively the periods from April 24 to August 17, 1864, from August 19 to October 29 of the same year, and from November 9, 1864, to March 2, 1865. An examination of the one hundred and eighty-six documents listed in these three volumes, and covering eleven critical months of the French intervention in Mexico, shows the incompleteness of the collection as a documentary history of this subject. Señor García still keeps his readers in ignorance of the principles upon which he makes his selections from the materials available in his hands, and gives no clues to the number and character of omitted documents. He publishes but four communications originating in the eleven months from

Bazaine to Napoleon, and but twenty-five from Bazaine to his military superior, the French minister of war. Quite a number of these are given only in brief extracts (probably as found in the papers used by the editor?) when the letters have been printed at length elsewhere. Nevertheless this publication is the most valuable of the kind which has yet appeared to illustrate the dealings of Marshal Bazaine with his chief subordinates and the fickle Mexicans, whether imperialists or republicans. The delicate position of a supporting general in his relations with a nominal emperor comes prominently into view through considerable correspondence with Maximilian's officials. One can readily trace progress from polite deference and kindly consideration to abrupt requests and peppery complaints. Likewise the grounds for fluctuating hopes of early success and fears of prolonged feebleness under the imperial régime appear in the reports from district officers to Bazaine, and in turn these are reflected by Bazaine in his letters to the French government.

Perhaps the most significant new contribution of original material given by Señor García consists of the negotiations between Bazaine and the venal Mexicans whom he was able to win over from Juárez to the support of the intervention. What has been largely conjecture about this shameful chapter becomes established by plain proofs. The series will also have great value for the light it sheds on the details of military operations as given in the reports of officers. Part VI, contains a very interesting memoir, extending to some seventy pages, by E. de Fleury, on Sonora and Lower California. Negatively, it may be remarked that the relation of the United States to the struggle in Mexico finds only the barest mention in an occasional letter. Will not the editor of the series put all readers under obligations by furnishing a good analytical index of the whole on its completion?

C. A. DUNIWAY.

TEXT-BOOKS

A History of Education before the Middle Ages. By FRANK PIERREPONT GRAVES, Ph.D., Professor of the History and Philosophy of Education in the Ohio State University. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1909. Pp. xiv, 304.)

WHETHER there can be a science of education, whether *Kulturgeschichte* can be studied to advantage in cross-sections cut through the centuries by specialists who are not historians, and whether such studies are suitable to American colleges and high schools—these are questions to be asked, but perhaps not to be answered in a review. Professor Graves's book is well written. Its statements are as plausible as could be expected of such a succession of affirmations and generalizations about 2000 years of history, four or five civilizations, and three or four literatures. He seems to have consulted the recent authorities

to which reference is made in the notes for supplementary reading at the end of each chapter. The book is a good one of its kind. But the kind eludes serious historical criticism. It belongs to a species evolved by the struggle for existence and the competition for a foothold in the curriculum between such dubious "sciences" as sociology, general or comparative literature, ethnology, and pedagogy. Courses and text-books in these subjects meet in a way a genuine need of the expanding adolescent mind, the desire to soar out of the low region of encumbering fact, to cast off the shackles of logic or of precise historical or philological method, to take a bird's-eye view of all the ungracious past, and to generalize *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*. This demand is in my opinion better met by the outline course in universal history, supplemented possibly by a course in the history of civilization or the history of philosophy, for which last the history of science may be substituted if competent teachers can be found. But there is no more propriety in teaching the history of education to undergraduates and secondary students than there would be in teaching them the history of psychology or music or literary criticism (abridged from Saintsbury) or classical scholarship (abridged from Sandys). The facts excerpted and isolated by Professor Graves require for their interpretation an historical background which the American youth does not possess. It is hard enough to impart to graduate students in Greek a clear conception of educational conditions in the Athens of Plato and Isocrates. For such students the criticism of this book might prove a profitable exercise. The students for whom it is intended may memorize it; they cannot criticize it or understand.

PAUL SHOREY.

A History of Commerce. By CLIVE DAY, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Economic History in Yale University. (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1907, pp. xlv, 626.) Though good wine needs no bush, and needs it still less when it has been tapped for two years, it nevertheless remains both a pleasure and a duty to praise such a good vintage as is here found. Professor Day has given us an introductory text-book of commercial history, which, in my opinion, is unsurpassed. Nothing which the Germans or French have done of this kind, not even Richard Mayr's admirably concise *Lehrbuch*, the best of recent manuals hitherto available, is in all respects so satisfactory as this book. It meets a need which of late years has been increasingly felt in English-speaking countries, and removes a long-standing reproach to their scholarship.

In his introduction the author modestly lays claim to but one of Matthew Arnold's four desiderata of an introductory manual. But Professor Day has not only realized his aim of giving proportion to his work; it has as well the other qualities of clearness, brevity, and sobriety. There is no parade of scholarship, but even apart from the compact references to authorities at the end of the book, the reader soon

discovers that underlying the easy and interesting text is a sound scholarship, utilizing the latest and best investigations. The work is, however, more than clearly written, nicely proportioned, and well informed. An exceptionally discriminating judgment is its prevailing characteristic, and its teaching of the importance for commercial progress of political union, economic liberty, and social co-operation carries with it an unobtrusive insistence upon those qualities of personal and national character essential to the welfare of humanity. It contains no superficial economic interpretation of history; the interweaving of the numerous other factors in commercial progress or decline is skilfully indicated, and the attention of the student is constantly drawn to the "why" as well as to the "how" of economic changes.

Each of the chapters is followed by suggestive questions and topics, together with reading-references, and the five parts, on ancient, mediæval, modern, and recent European commerce, and the commerce of the United States, are followed by additional review topics. The work thus provided will be found stimulating to both teacher and student.

As is only to be expected in a book of this scope, some minor errors of statement or omission might be pointed out, but they are nowhere important, and to detail them in a brief review would be to commit that fault of disproportion so carefully avoided in the book itself.

EDWIN F. GAY.

Readings in Modern European History. By JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON, Professor of History in Columbia University, and CHARLES A. BEARD, Adjunct Professor of Politics in Columbia University. Volume II. *Europe since the Congress of Vienna.* (Boston and New York: Ginn and Company. 1909. Pp. xxii, 541.)

THIS volume is to accompany the second volume of *The Development of Modern Europe* by the same authors, so that we now have two volumes of text of about 800 pages and two volumes of readings of about 900 pages, dealing with European history since the time of Louis XIV.

The present volume has the same characteristics as the three preceding ones which have been already noticed in this REVIEW. It is up-to-date: there is an analysis of the Austrian and German elections of 1906 and 1907, and a description of the opening of the first Turkish parliament in December, 1908. Extremely interesting are the sketches of the lives of Hargreaves, Crompton, Watt, and Arkwright, the description of social conditions in England before the reform legislation, and the extracts from Bismarck's writings. The attractiveness of socialistic schemes is shown in good selections from Owen, Fourier, Marx, the Webbs, and the Gotha programme of 1875; there is nothing to offset such optimism except parts of an address by J. B. Clark and of an encyclical of Leo XIII.; might there not have been added some indication of the historical weaknesses of Marxism? The fair treatment and

large attention given to the Catholic Church finds expression in many documents ranging in time from the Concordat with Napoleon to the papal denunciation of the French Separation Act of 1905; no student can read these through without having his mind roused to the still important question of the proper relation of church and state. Also of religious interest, but from a different point of view, are the extracts condemning and supporting Darwinism.

Though the extracts are unusually varied in character, they have more cohesion than is common in source-books. This is due in part to the excellent explanatory notes which introduce each reading, and in part to the fact that each reading is planned to illustrate a section in the text-book. In those cases where a selection has been condensed by striking out sentences or paragraphs, as has been frequently done with advantage, the fact is indicated in the margin. Where so much is offered in a book of this kind, one hesitates to ask for more. Yet we believe it would have been well to include the main features of the fundamental laws of the chief European countries, especially as the descriptions in the text-book are brief. Though some of these are easily accessible in the original in Lowell's *Governments and Parties* and in translation in Dodd's collection and elsewhere, classes would have found it valuable to have them in these readings for study and for reference. The only constitutional documents of this kind in this volume are the Austro-Hungarian compact of 1867 and the principal provisions of the Russian constitution of 1906.

There is a good bibliography at the close of the volume. It is necessarily brief, but gives a helpful word of criticism on most of the works. It contains many titles in French and German and is adapted to college rather than to school use. The suggestions "on keeping up with the times" (p. 540) ought to mention the extremely convenient monthly and yearly indexes to the daily edition of the *London Times*.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

An Outline of History for the Grades. By ELLWOOD WADSWORTH KEMP. (Boston: Ginn and Company. 1908. Pp. viii, 352.)

We have, in this volume, a well-constructed plan of work by a teacher who has spent a number of years on the problem of history for the elementary schools. It is his belief, that since the Aryan race is the "institution-making race", the aim in any programme of history should be to trace the spirit of the civilization of that race as it has been "borne forward and enriched both by forces within and without" from the earliest times to the present.

For the first grade, the outline provides for the consideration of the primitive Aryan as seen in the nomadic and the agricultural stages of his development. The topics suggested for the study of each stage are: (1) location, characteristics of the country, institutional life, food, fire, clothing; (2) industrial life as seen in cattle-raising, manufacturing,

trade; and (3) religion. The life of the Egyptians, the Hebrews, and the Phoenicians is assigned to the second grade. In like manner, the history of Greece is to be considered in the third, Rome in the fourth, and the development of the Teutonic race in the fifth grade, respectively. The Crusades, the Renaissance, the growth of English institutions, and the Reformation constitute the topics for the sixth grade. To the seventh and eighth grades is assigned the account of "the crossing of the stream of liberty from Europe to America and its growth under new environment".

This ambitious and suggestive programme is worthy of commendation in that it keeps the subject of history before the pupil during his whole elementary school life and would render compulsory especial preparation for the teacher of history. It is open to question, however, whether the carrying out of such a scheme is practicable except by Professor Kemp or by those teachers whom he has trained. While we shall probably always have variety in the content of our courses, it is now generally conceded also that the best approach to the study of history in the last three or four grades is secured through presenting to pupils in the earliest grades the elementary facts connected with the lives of the great national and world characters. With this view, leading educators of England, Germany, and France are in substantial agreement.

JAMES A. JAMES.

NOTES AND NEWS

GENERAL

The meeting of the American Historical Association this year in New York promises to be of unusual interest. It will be the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Historical Association and the twenty-fourth of the American Economic Association, and they will celebrate the event together. The meeting will begin on Monday, December 27, and close on Friday, December 31. The headquarters will be at Columbia University, where, in addition to the Historical and Economic Associations, the Political Science and Sociological Associations will also be meeting.

The joint meeting will be opened by President Taft, who will deliver an address in Carnegie Hall, on Monday evening. Tuesday the meetings will be at Columbia. In the morning, Presidents Hart of the Historical and Dewey of the Economic Associations will deliver their inaugural addresses. Luncheon will be served by the university. In the afternoon come the addresses of Presidents Lowell of the Political Science and Sumner of the Sociological Associations, followed by a reception by the Academy of Political Science. In the evening the session will be devoted to reports of investigations in Europe with reference to the present working of historical curricula in the schools. The meetings on Wednesday, December 29, will be held at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. As the day happens to be the centenary of Gladstone, the morning session will be given over to recent English history, among the speakers being Mr. Bryce. It will be followed by a luncheon, after which addresses will be delivered by guests of both the Historical and the Economic Associations. In honor of the twenty-fifth anniversary each association is inviting four or five distinguished historians and economists from Europe, and as some of the prominent members of the early years of the associations are expected to be present, this reunion promises to be of unusual interest. After the luncheon there will be a reception at the residence of Dr. Clarence W. Bowen, treasurer of the Historical Association. In the evening the New York City History Club will give a pageant and exhibition of its work in the parlors of the Waldorf. Thursday is mostly given up to sectional meetings. There will be two sections for American history, one on the Western Movement, and the other on Races in United States History. In addition to these there will be a section for Hispanic and South American history, which will profit from the presence of Professor Altamira of Spain. In addition to sections for Medieval and Modern

European History, a section for Ancient History has also been arranged for, at which, among others, Professor Eduard Meyer of Berlin will read a paper. The section for Medieval History will hold joint session with the Church History Association. In addition to these and the business meeting, there will also be conferences to consider the reports of the Committee of Eight and the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and an important Conference of Historical Societies. In view of these and other sessions, it is expected that the programme will extend this year until noon on Friday. Thursday evening will be taken up by a reception at the house of Mrs. Vanderbilt. A unique feature of the meeting will be an exhibition of aids to visualization in history, which will be held in Teachers College during the entire period. The equipment of some of the best schools in New York City will also be open to inspection.

Fedor Fedorovitch Martens, the eminent jurist and late professor of international law at the University of St. Petersburg, who was several times chosen by European and American powers as international arbitrator, died on June 20, aged 63. His *Recueil des Traités et Conventions conclus par la Russie avec les Puissances Étrangères*, the fifteenth volume of which has recently appeared, was enriched by historical sketches of great value. His two-volume work, *The International Law of the Civilised Nations*, was translated into many languages.

In place of the late Mgr. Wenzel, Pope Pius X. has made Mgr. Mariano Ugolini "sub-archivist" (virtually archivist) of the Vatican.

Dr. C. Raymond Beazley, fellow of Merton College, Oxford, who lectured in America last winter, has been appointed to the professorship of history in the University of Birmingham.

At McGill University, where Professor Colby has leave of absence during the academic year now beginning, Professor Charles L. Wells will supply his place.

Dr. William Spence Robertson of Western Reserve University has been made assistant professor of history in the University of Illinois. The appointment has been authorized with special reference to the development of instruction and research in the history of Latin America.

Professor A. L. Cross of Ann Arbor will lecture at Harvard University during the second half of the coming academic year.

Dr. George C. Sellery has been promoted to the rank of professor in the University of Wisconsin, Dr. W. L. Westermann to that of associate professor.

Dr. Nils A. Olson of Wisconsin has been made professor in Muhlenberg College, and Mr. E. J. Kylie assistant professor in the University of Toronto.

Dr. Nelson P. Mead has been promoted to the position of associate professor in the College of the City of New York.

Mr. Albert H. Lybyer (Ph.D., Harvard, 1909) has been made associate professor of history in Oberlin College.

A Memoir of the Right Hon. William Edward Hartpole Lecky, by his wife, including many interesting letters, is being published by Longmans.

The McKinley Publishing Company of Philadelphia brings out in September, 1909, the first number of *The History Teacher's Magazine*, intended to be published monthly, with the exception of July and August, at 5805 Germantown avenue, Philadelphia. The aim of the magazine is specifically and strictly to serve the interests of teachers of history, especially those of teachers in secondary schools, by articles, discussions, and reviews written from the point of view of the person interested in processes of historical instruction. Dr. Albert E. McKinley is the managing editor. Special aspects of the subject-matter, such as the teaching of ancient history, general European, English, and American history in secondary schools, the relation of history teaching in colleges to that in secondary institutions, and the teaching of history in the elementary schools, are to be in care of competent special editors. The opening number contains about twenty quarto pages of useful and suggestive matter.

The Bibliographical Society of America met at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, on July 3. Of chief interest to historical students was the paper by Mr. Worthington C. Ford on the Calendaring of Manuscripts.

At a meeting held at the New York Yacht Club on May 8 the Naval Historical Society was formed, with Captain John S. Barnes, late U. S. N., as president, and Mr. Robert W. Neeser as secretary and treasurer. The objects of the society are to "discover, procure and preserve by publication and otherwise" such records, letters, journals, and other historical matter as are now privately owned or otherwise inaccessible to students. Membership in the society for the first year will date from January 1, 1910.

An analytical index of the *Journal des Savants* (Paris, Hachette) from 1859 to 1908 inclusive, has been compiled by J. Tissier.

Among the essays in the volume presented to Mr. J. W. Clark in recognition of his services to learning and to the University of Cambridge, *Fasciculus Ioanni Willis Clark Dicatus* (printed for private circulation at the Cambridge University Press, 1909, pp. 577), are a Catalogue of the library of the Augustinian friars at York, contributed by Dr. M. R. James; a *Catalogo fin qui sconosciuto della Biblioteca Papale d'Avignone, 1407*, contributed by Dr. Franz Ehrle; *Le Registre des Dépenses de la Bibliothèque Vaticane de 1548 à 1555*, by M. L. Dorez; and a paper on classical archaeology and prehistoric archaeology, by Professor Waldstein.

The first volume of the new illustrated issue of Professor Bury's

edition of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, which is to be completed in seven volumes, has been published by Methuen.

Father H. Holzapfel's comprehensive *Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens* (Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder, pp. xxii, 732) is based upon an extensive study of the sources. A Latin edition will shortly be issued by the same house.

In a pamphlet entitled *Why America should re-explore Wilkes Land*, reprinted from the *Proceedings* of the American Philosophical Society, Mr. Edwin Swift Balch follows up his previous writings on Antarctic exploration by a plea for American activity in the matter, based on historical arguments concerning the Wilkes expedition and other American explorations in the region named.

Mr. H. B. Morse, sometime statistical secretary, inspectorate-general of customs, China, and author of a valuable work on *The Trade and Administration of the Chinese Empire*, has written a concise account of *The Gilds of China* (Longmans, 1909, pp. 92) in which he compares the present Chinese gild system with that of medieval Europe.

Mr. J. W. Allen has published through Blackwood (London, 1909, pp. 266) a thoughtful discussion of *The Place of History in Education*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: *Frontiers Ancient and Modern* (Edinburgh Review, July); P. Lacombe, *L'Appropriation Privée du Sol: Nouvelles Études à l'Occasion d'Ouvrages Récents*, II. (Revue de Synthèse Historique, June); A.-D. Xénopol, *L'Imagination en Histoire*, II. (Revue de Synthèse Historique, April).

ANCIENT HISTORY

M. J. de Morgan, former general director of Egyptian antiquities, and general delegate in Persia of the ministry of public instruction, has written a comprehensive history of *Les Premières Civilisations: Études sur la Préhistoire et l'Histoire jusqu'à la Fin de l'Empire Macédonien* (Paris, Leroux, 1909, pp. 600).

Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie, of University College, London, has published a fully illustrated book on the *Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt* (London, Foulis).

An admirable complete edition of the old Persian inscriptions, with translations, has been issued by Professor Herbert C. Tolman of Vanderbilt University under the title *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts* (American Book Company).

From Assyrian tablets, and the literature of Greeks, Jews, Malays, and Arabs, Professor R. Campbell Thompson has constructed an important book on *Semitic Magic: its Origins and Development* (London, Luzac).

The first part of Dr. Josef Partsch's *Griechisches Bürgschaftsrecht* is devoted to *Das Recht des Altgriechischen Gemeindestaats* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1909, pp. x, 434).

A. Calderini's book, *La Manomissione e la Condizione dei Liberti in Grecia* (Milan, Hoepli, 1908, pp. xix, 464) has been crowned by the Academy of Sciences and Letters of Milan.

E. Ziebarth's volume entitled *Aus dem Griechischen Schulwesen: Eudemos von Milet und Verwandtes* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1909, pp. vii, 150) is based in part on hitherto unpublished documents, and deals with a large variety of topics connected with the foundation, organization, and administration of Greek schools.

A work on *The Universities of Ancient Greece*, by J. W. H. Walden, is being brought out by Scribners.

In Wilhelm Soltau's *Die Anfänge der Römischen Geschichtschreibung* (Leipzig, Haessel), the author shows the large part played by literary invention in the oldest Roman history.

Professor F. F. Abbott is publishing through Scribners a volume entitled *Society and Politics in Ancient Rome: Essays and Sketches*.

The third volume, including an index to the complete work, of Mr. J. H. Freese's translation of Dr. Friedländer's *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire* (Dutton) will shortly be published. The translation is to be supplemented by a volume of excursuses and notes.

Dr. O. Th. Schulz of the University of Leipzig has written an important biography, *Der Römische Kaiser Caracalla: Genie, Wahnsinn, oder Verbrechen?* (Leipzig, Haessel).

P. R. Cole has published a study of *Later Roman Education in Ausonius, Capella, and the Theodosian Code* (New York, Teachers College, Columbia University).

Documentary publications: A. Poebel, *Babylonian Legal and Business Documents from the Time of the First Dynasty of Babylon, chiefly from Nippur* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1909, pp. 164) [Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, edited by H. V. Hilprecht].

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. de Genouillac, *Une Cité du Bas-Euphrate au Quatrième Millénaire* (Revue Historique, July-August); H. P. Fairchild, *The Causes of Emigration from Greece* (Yale Review, August); E. von Stern, *Die Griechische Kolonisation am Norgestade des Schwarzen Meeres im Lichte Archäologischer Forschung* (Klio, IX. 2); W. S. Ferguson, *Researches in Athenian and Delian Documents, III.* (Klio, IX. 3); S. Heinlein, *Histaios von Milet* (Klio, IX. 3); K. Lehmann, *Zur Geschichte der Barkiden, I. Hannibals Alpenübergang als Marschleistung* (Klio, IX. 3); J. Kromayer, *Hannibal als Staatsmann* (Historische Zeitschrift, CIII. 2).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

The second volume of W. Montgomery's translation of O. Pfeleiderer's *Primitive Christianity* has been published by Putnam.

Principal Walter F. Adeney's history of Eastern Christianity, *The Greek and Eastern Churches* (Scribners, 1909), deals with the main body of the Eastern Church down to the fall of Constantinople, and with the separate churches from their origins to the present day.

Professor Marucchi, after a long period since the issue of De Rossi's last volume, has brought out the first fascicle (Rome, Spithoever, 1909, pp. 100) of his continuation or third volume of the *Roma Sotterranea Christiana*, dealing with the cemetery of Domitilla, and embellished with admirable plates.

The ninth fascicle in the series of *Textes et Documents pour l'Étude Historique du Christianisme*, published under the direction of H. Hemmer and P. Lejay, is *Philon: Commentaire Allégorique des Saintes Lois*, treatises one to three, edited with the Greek text, French translation, introduction, notes, and index by M. E. Bréhier (Paris, Picard, 1909, pp. xxxviii, 330), whose book on the ideas of Philo was noticed in the last number of this REVIEW (XIV. 868).

Father Cyrille Charon, a French priest of the Greek Melchite rite, and a distinguished student of Oriental church history, is preparing a *Histoire des Patriarches Melchites*, of which the first volume will soon be issued.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Allard, *La Retraite de Sidoine Apollinaire* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Recent German publications relating to medieval history are reviewed by E. A. Goldsilber in the *Courrier Allemand* of the July number of the *Revue des Questions Historiques*.

In the periodical called *America: a Catholic Review of the Week* for September 11, Father Thomas Hughes, S. J., reviews at length Professor Pijper's article in our July number criticizing it especially on the ground of failure to preserve distinctions of terms and times, and thus of unfairness to the Church.

A synthetic *Précis d'Archéologie du Moyen-Age*, by J. A. Brutails (Paris, Picard, pp. xli, 282), emphasizes the historical causes of the various architectural forms.

The well-known medievalists, F. Lot and L. Halphen, are the joint authors of fascicle 175 of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études* (Paris, Champion) which forms the first part, comprising the years 840-851, of a history of the reign of Charles the Bald, 840-877.

Mr. Walter Ashburner has edited from the manuscripts *The Rhodian Sea-Law* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1909). Besides the text, translation, and commentary, there is a long introduction (pp. 280) dealing with the text and the origin of the Sea-Law, its relation to other bodies of

medieval maritime law relating to the Mediterranean basin, and with maritime jurisprudence between the fall of the Roman Empire and the commercial renaissance of the thirteenth century.

The Connection between England and Burgundy during the First Half of the Fifteenth Century (Oxford, Blackwell, 1909, pp. 90) is the subject of L. V. D. Owen's Stanhope Essay for 1909.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: B. Hilliger, *Alter und Münzrechnung der Lex Salica* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, June); C. H. Becker, *Grundlinien der Wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung Aegyptens in den Ersten Jahrhunderten des Islam* (Klio, IX. 2); H. Bloch, *Die Kaiserwahlen der Stauferzeit* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, June); F. Kurth, *Der Anteil Niederdeutscher Kreuzfahrer an den Kämpfen der Portugiesen gegen die Mauren* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, VIII., Ergänzungsband 1); F. Kern, *Analekten zur Geschichte des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts*, I. *Eduard I. von England und Peter von Aragon*; II. *Die Bestechung K. Adolfs von Nassau* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXX. 3); J. M. Vidal, *Un Recueil Manuscrit de Sermons prononcés aux Conciles de Constance et de Bâle* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, July); R. Wolkan, *Der Briefwechsel des Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini* [Fontes Rerum Austriacarum. II. Diplomata et Acta. LXI.] (Vienna, Holder, 1909, pp. xxviii, 595).

MODERN HISTORY

The second series of M. Henri Dehérain's *Études sur l'Afrique* (Paris, Hachette) relates to several phases of the history of the Cape of Good Hope in the seventeenth century—the Dutch East India Company's establishment at the Cape, Johan van Riebeck, the origins and growth of the European colonies, slaves, and the French language at the Cape.

M. Theodore Blancard's two-volume work, *Les Matroyéni* (Paris, Leroux), is a contribution to the history of the Orient from 1700 to the present.

M. Charles de Larivière has gathered into a volume entitled *La France et la Russie au XVIII^e Siècle* (Paris, Soudier, 1909, pp. xix, 343) several historical and literary studies treating among other topics of Catherine II. and d'Alembert, Count Esterhazy at the court of Russia, and the youth of Nicolas I.

Mr. Oscar Browning is publishing in the Camden series of the Royal Historical Society *Despatches from Paris, 1784-1790*, selected and edited from the Foreign Office correspondence. The first volume extends to 1787 (1909, pp. 278).

A third edition of the two-volume collection of *Les Constitutions Modernes*, translated and annotated by F. R. Dareste and P. Dareste (Paris, Challamel), has been revised to date.

The first volume of *Lettres de Champollion le Jeune*, collected and annotated by H. Hartleben, contains letters written from Italy, and forms the thirtieth volume in Maspero's Bibliothèque Égyptologique (Paris, Leroux).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Ancel, *L'Activité Réformatrice de Paul IV.—Le Choix des Cardinaux* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); C. Brinkmann, *The Relations between England and Germany, 1660-1688*, II. (English Historical Review, July); A. F. Pribram, *Franz von Lisola und der Ausbau der Tripleliga in den Jahren 1670 und 1671* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXX. 3); H. B. Learned, *Historical Significance of the Term "Cabinet" in England and the United States* (American Political Science Review, August); L. Madelin, *Le Concordat de 1801 et le Cardinal Mathieu* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); Marqués de Lema, *Bonaparte y una Infanta Española: un Proyecto Olvidado de Matrimonio* (Cultura Española, May); J. Aulneau, *M. de Bismarck à la Diète de Francfort et la Politique de la Prusse pendant la Guerre de Crimée* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXIII. 3); François-Ch. Roux, *La Russie et l'Alliance Anglo-Française après la Guerre de Crimée* (Revue Historique, July-August).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Mr. C. R. L. Fletcher's four-volume text-book, *An Introductory History of England* (London, Murray), has been concluded by the issue of the last two volumes, which treat of the period from 1660 to 1815.

G. Teuber's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Eroberung Britanniens durch die Römer* forms the third part of the Breslau Studies in History.

Mr. E. E. C. Gomme has made an entirely new and literal translation of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London, Bell, 1909, pp. 332) with introduction and notes. The Parker Manuscript has been chiefly followed, but some extracts have been made from the other manuscripts.

Professor Laurence M. Larson is publishing in Putnam's *Heroes of the Nations* series a life of King Canute the Great.

Two books on agrarian history have recently come from the Clarendon Press. The larger part of Mr. W. H. R. Curtler's *A Short History of English Agriculture* (1909, pp. 371) is devoted to the modern period. Mr. A. H. Johnson's *The Disappearance of the Small Landowner*, the Ford Lectures for 1909 (pp. 164), is an investigation into the effects of the English land laws, from the time of the Great Plague, with comparisons drawn from other countries.

The contents of the second series of studies of *Typical English Churchmen* (London, S. P. C. K., pp. 190) is as follows: Wyclif, by Dr. J. N. Figgis; William of Wykeham, by Dr. W. A. Spooner; William

Courtenay, by Canon Scott Holmes; Cardinal Beaufort, by Rev. L. B. Radford; Cuthbert Tunstall, by Canon G. H. Ross-Lewin; and Stephen Gardiner, by Dr. James Gairdner.

Social England in the Fifteenth Century, a London University doctoral thesis, by Miss A. Abrams, will be issued by Messrs. Routledge this autumn.

Sidney Lee's Oxford lectures are being published by Frowde under the title *The French Renaissance in England*.

Among Houghton Mifflin's autumn announcements are a book by Frank A. Mumby entitled *The Girlhood of Queen Elizabeth, told in Contemporary Letters*, and a *Life of Richard Brinsley Sheridan*, by Walter Sichel.

A great store of detailed information regarding the social and economic life of western England in the sixteenth century is contained in the *Survey of the Lands of William, First Earl of Pembroke*, drawn up in the years 1566-1573 and giving remarkably full data regarding the tenures and customs of about forty manors in Wiltshire, Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, Hampshire, and Devon. The recently discovered manuscript has been privately printed by the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery in two quarto volumes for the Roxburghe Club. An introduction is contributed by the transcriber, C. R. Straton.

Under the title *The Last Years of the Protectorate*, Professor C. H. Firth is publishing through Longmans a continuation of S. R. Gardiner's *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*.

Longmans, Green, and Company have issued volume II. of G. A. R. Callender's *Sea Kings of Britain*. The work comprises brief biographies of Albemarle, Rooke, Benbow, Vernon, Anson, and Hawke.

Professor F. Watson's recent contribution to educational history, *The Beginnings of the Teaching of Modern Subjects in England* (London, Pitman, pp. lvi, 555), includes much bibliographical matter.

M. Marcel Sibert's *Étude sur le Premier Ministre en Angleterre depuis ses Origines jusqu'à l'Époque Contemporaine* (Paris, Rousseau) contains comparisons between the prime ministers in England and the prime ministers of France and Belgium.

The first volume of *Lives of the Hanoverian Queens of England* (Macmillan, 1909, pp. xv, 427), a continuation of Miss Strickland's work, by Alice Drayton Greenwood, relates to Sophia Dorothea, wife of George I., and Caroline of Anspach, wife of George II.

Mr. Beckles Willson's *Life and Letters of James Wolfe* is being published by Heinemann. A life of General Wolfe, by Mr. Edward Salmon, has recently been issued in the new series, *Makers of National History*, which the Rev. W. H. Hutton is editing for Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons.

Mr. Edward Arnold is publishing this autumn the first volume of Sir Herbert Maxwell's new work, *A Century of Empire*, in three volumes. It is a succinct history of the United Kingdom during the nineteenth century, which, while not conceived in a partizan spirit, will present the case for the conservative party in its influence upon the course of politics.

The fourth and concluding volume of *The History of the War in South Africa*, compiled from official sources by Major-General Sir John Frederick Maurice, is being published by Hurst and Blackett, London.

The "Times" History of the War in South Africa, edited by L. S. Amery (London, Sampson Low), has been concluded by the issue of the sixth and seventh volumes. The sixth volume deals with the work of reconstruction in South Africa, and the later political history down to the early part of the present year, and contains a series of chapters on the more important technical and administrative aspects of the war. The seventh volume comprises a chronological table, bibliography, and full index.

Relics of the Honourable East India Company (1909, pp. xiv, 80), a series of fifty plates, including facsimiles of documents, by W. Griggs, with letter-press by Sir George Birdwood and Mr. W. Foster, has been published by Mr. Bernard Quaritch.

Mr. W. J. Couper's excellent history of *The Edinburgh Periodical Press* (Stirling, Mackay, two volumes) comes down to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The Oxford University Press is publishing a six-volume work on *The Sikh Religion: its Gurus, Sacred Writings, and Authors*, by M. A. Macauliffe. A full translation of the sacred works of the Sikhs is included.

British government publications: *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, Henry IV., vol. IV., 1408-1413; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, March 1, 1676-February 28, 1677; *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission* on the manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont, II.; and on manuscripts in Various Collections, V.

Other documentary publications: Father Cuthbert, *The Chronicle of Thomas of Eccleston* (London, Sands, pp. xxix, 168) [describes the settlement of the Franciscans in England]; R. Lamond, *Ecclesiastical Persecution in the Seventeenth Century* [extracts from a narrative by the Rev. Robert Landess of Robroyston] (*Scottish Historical Review*, July).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. W. C. Davis, *The Liberties of Bury St. Edmunds* (*English Historical Review*, July); A. Ballard, *Woodstock Manor in the Thirteenth Century* (*Vierteljahrsschrift für*

Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, VI. 3 and 4); C. Perkins, *The Trial of the Knights Templars in England* (English Historical Review, July); R. Ancel, *La Réconciliation de l'Angleterre avec le Saint-Siège sous Marie Tudor: Légation du Cardinal Polus en Angleterre* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, July); W. Smart, *The Antecedents of the Corn Law of 1815* (English Historical Review, July); J. A. R. Marriott, *George Canning and his Friends* (Quarterly Review, July).

FRANCE

The French ministry of foreign affairs has opened to workers the diplomatic archives up to February 24, 1848, instead of up to July 31, 1830, as formerly. The consular archives prior to 1789 have also been made accessible.

Le Roussillon, by J. Calmette and P. Vidal (Paris, Cerf, 1909, pp. 64), is the sixth number in the series *Les Régions de la France*, published by the *Revue de Synthèse Historique*.

One of the most important sources for the history of the reigns of Louis VI. and Louis VII., up to 1148, *La Chronique de Morigny*, 1095-1152 (1909, pp. xix, 98), has been edited by M. L. Mirot, of the Archives Nationales, for the Collection de Textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'Histoire (Paris, Picard). This chronicle, which has been published in Duchesne's *Scriptores*, and from that edition in Migne's *Patrologia*, presents a remarkably life-like picture of the society of the period.

A volume by the late Achille Luchaire, *La Société Française au Temps de Philippe-Auguste* (Paris, Hachette, 1909), has been brought out by the care of M. Louis Halphen. The two main divisions deal with the Church, and the Feudality, respectively. Part of the matter has been previously published.

The direction of the *Revue des Bibliothèques* (Paris, Champion) has decided to issue supplements to contain bibliographies that are too extended to be included in the *Revue*. The first of these supplements is a biographical and chronological repertory, by G. Lepreux, of all the printers of France from the origins of printing to the Revolution. The first volume treats of Flanders, Artois, and Picardy (1909, pp. 320).

The first volume of M. Fleury Vindry's *Les Parlementaires Français au XVI^e Siècle* (Paris, Champion, 1909, pp. 225) relates to the Parlements of Aix, Grenoble, Dijon, Chambéry, and Dombes.

M. Paul Masson's interesting book, *Les Compagnies du Corail* (Paris, 1908, pp. 254), is a study of the commerce of Marseilles in the sixteenth century, and of the origins of French colonization in Algiers.

Father Fouqueray has written from material in the Jesuit archives the first volume, comprising the years 1520-1575, of the great *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France, des Origines à la Suppression* (1762), which will be published by Picard in eight or ten large volumes.

Under the title *Montesquieu et la Tradition Politique Anglaise en France* (Paris, Lecoffre) M. J. Dedieu discusses the English sources of the *Esprit des Lois*.

A new collection of memoirs and of documents relative to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been undertaken by the following scholars: A. Baudrillart, rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris, Count Boulay de la Meurthe, president of the Society of Contemporary History, É. Bourgeois, of the University of Paris, A. Tuetey and P. Caron, of the National Archives, Cl. Perroud, honorary rector of the Academy of Toulouse, and M. Tourneux, vice-president of the Society for the History of the Revolution. The volumes will be edited with critical apparatus, and the whole spirit of the publications will be rigorously scientific. Among the volumes in press or in an advanced stage of preparation are the memoirs of Hardy, edited by MM. Tourneux and Vitrac, Brissot, edited by Cl. Perroud, Bailly, edited by P. Caron, Hénault, edited by F. Rousseau, and a collection of the great treaties of the Revolution and of the Empire, edited by É. Bourgeois. The first volume to be issued is *Roland et Marie Phlipon: Lettres d'Amour de 1777 à 1780*, edited by Cl. Perroud (1909, pp. 409).

M. É. Levasseur of the Institute has contributed a preface to an elaborate study of *La Population de Bordeaux au XVIII^e Siècle* by A. Nicolai (Paris, Giard and Brière).

The first volume of *La Franc-Maçonnerie en France des Origines à 1815*, by Gustav Bord (Nouvelle Librairie Nationale), throws new light on the spread of rationalistic and revolutionary ideas from 1761 to 1771. A similar conception of the historic role of freemasonry is in G. Chardonchamp's *Quelques propos d'un Contre-Révolutionnaire* (Paris, Lethielleux).

Professor R. M. Johnston's short history of *The French Revolution* is published by Macmillan.

M. Pierre de la Gorce of the Institute has published through the house of Plon-Nourrit the first volume of a *Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution Française* (1909, pp. vi, 519).

General H. Bonnal has brought out a study of *La Psychologie Militaire de Napoléon* (Paris, Chapelot).

Mr. A. H. Atterbridge will publish through Brentano's a work entitled *Napoleon's Brothers*, which will include an account of their descendants.

M. H. d'Almeras continues his studies of social life in Paris in a richly illustrated work, *La Vie Parisienne sous le Consulat et l'Empire* (Paris, Michel, 1909, pp. 496).

Recent volumes in Alcan's *Bibliothèque d'Histoire Contemporaine* are M. M. Handelsman's *Napoléon et la Pologne, 1806-1807* (pp. 284), based on documents in the national archives and in the archives of the ministry of foreign affairs, and M. G. Weill's *Histoire du Catholicisme Libéral en France, 1828-1908* (pp. 316).

The Vicomte de Reiset is at work on a study of the wife of Louis XVIII., the Comtesse de Provence, in which, it is understood, there will be published diaries of Charles Felix of Savoy and of the wife of the Count d'Artois, afterwards Charles X.

The fourth volume of the English translation of M. G. Hanotaux's *Contemporary France* (London, Constable, 1909, pp. 668) extends from 1877 to 1882. The same author has published through Flammarion a small work on *Le Partage de l'Afrique; Fachoda*.

Vicomte A. de Courson has published a book on the insurrection in 1832 in *La Vendée* (Paris, Émile-Paul).

Documentary publications: M. Bruchet, *L'Abolition des Droits Seigneuriaux en Savoie, 1761-1793* [Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française] (Paris, Leroux, pp. ciii, 639); Count Marc de Germiny, *Souvenirs du Chevalier de Cussy, Garde du Corps, Diplomate et Consul Général, 1795-1860*, I. (Paris, Plon, 1909, pp. 417); A. Keller, *Correspondance, Bulletins, et Ordres du Jour de Napoléon, II. Bonaparte et le Directoire* (Paris, Méricant, pp. 319); Charles Bocher, *Mémoires, 1816-1907*, II. [1848-1870] (Paris, Flammarion).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J.-M. Vidal, *Doctrine et Morale des Derniers Ministres Albigeois*, concl. (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); J. Letaconnoux, *Les Voies de Communication en France, au XVIII^e Siècle* (Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, VII. 1); A. Onou, *Les Élections de 1789 et les Cahiers du Tiers État*, I. (*La Révolution Française*, June); Ph. Sagnac, *L'État des Esprits en France à l'Époque de Varennes, Juin-Juillet, 1791* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, May); M. Marion, *Les Parents d'Émigrés pendant la Révolution* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); P. Lehautcourt, *La Capitulation de Laon, 9 Septembre 1870*, I. (Revue Historique, September-October).

ITALY, SPAIN, PORTUGAL

The Oxford University Press is publishing a book on *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy*, by T. E. Peet.

In the *Archivio Storico Italiano*, no. 253, Professor Augusto Beccaria develops in detail a project for a *Corpus Inscriptionum Italicarum Mediæ Aevi*, including the early Christian inscriptions, and thus forming a continuation of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, to be published by means of a fund presented to the faculty of letters of Florence by Commendatore Ernesto Modigliani.

The third number of the *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, edited by Professor W. Goetz of Tübingen, is Dr. P. Funk's monograph on *Jakob von Vitry, Leben und Werke* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1909). This, the first comprehensive account of

this eminent writer and ecclesiastic, who, at the time of his death in 1240, was Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum, is a study in the religious and moral life of the period.

G. Volpe contributes to the *Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, VI. 3 and 4, an article of more than one hundred pages on *Montieri: Costituzione Politica, Struttura Sociale e Attività Economica d'una Terra Mineraria Toscana nel XIII. Secolo*. In a later number (VII. 1) of the same journal H. Sieveking has an interesting article on *Die Kapitalistische Entwicklung in den Italienischen Städten des Mittelalters*.

Colonel G. F. Young's two-volume history of *The Medici* (London, Murray) extends from 1400 to 1743. Portraits of more than fifty members of the Medici family are included.

A contribution by Plinio Carli to the studies of the text of Machiavelli's history of Florence has been separately printed from the *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, session V., volume XIV. (pp. 91).

Documentary publications: L. Pagliai, *Regesto di Coltibuono*, *Regesta Chartarum Italiae*, IV. [Published by the Prussian Historical Institute] (Rome, Loescher, 1909, pp. xi, 311); *Inventaire de la Collection Édouard Favre* (Bulletin Hispanique, July-September) [The collection contains some 10,000 Spanish documents, mostly relating to the reign of Philip II.]; *A Inquisição em Portugal e no Brasil: As Denúncias da Inquisição de Lisboa*, con. (Arquivo Histórico Português, January-February, March-April, May-June).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Ch. Dejob, *Le Politicien à Florence au XIV^e et au XV^e Siècle* (Bulletin Italien, July-September).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND

In the historical bulletin of the *Revue Historique* for July-August, F. Vigener concludes his review of publications of the years 1905-1906, relating to the medieval history of Germany and V. Van Berchem reviews the publications of the years 1905-1908, relating to the history of Switzerland.

M. A. Waddington contributes to the April and June numbers of the *Revue de Synthèse Historique* a valuable general review, extending to nearly one hundred pages, of the chief writings relating to the general history of Germany from 1648 to 1806.

A volume entitled *Studium Lipsiense: Ehrengabe Karl Lamprecht dargebracht*, etc. (Berlin, Weidmann, 1909), presented to Professor Lamprecht on the occasion of the opening of his new Institute for Universal History and the History of Civilization, contains twenty-two contributions. Among these is an article by Viktor Hantzsch, entitled *Der Anteil der deutschen Jesuiten an der wissenschaftlichen Erforschung Amerikas*.

Professor Oskar Jäger, of Bonn, has issued the first volume of his *Deutsche Geschichte* (Munich, Beck, 1909, pp. 668), which comes down to the Peace of Westphalia. A notable feature of the work is its large number of valuable illustrations.

The eighth volume in the *Handbuch der Mittelalterlichen und Neueren Geschichte*, edited by G. v. Below and F. Meinecke (Munich, Oldenburg, 1909, pp. xiv, 244), is an *Allgemeine Geschichte der Germanischen Völker bis zur Mitte des Sechsten Jahrhunderts*, by Professor Ludwig Schmidt, librarian of the Royal Public Library in Dresden. After a survey of the sources, the author considers the origin of the Germans, their expansion, their relation to the Romans, and, finally the history of each of the Germanic peoples, ending with the Franks under Merovingian rule.

Among the writings called forth by the anniversary of the destruction of the Roman legions of Varus, in the year 9, is Felix Dahn's *Armin der Cherusker* (Munich, Lehmann, 1909, pp. 44).

Recent volumes in the series of *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usum Scholarum* are *Annales Xantenses et Annales Vedastini*, edited by B. de Simson (Hannover, Hahn, 1909, pp. xvi, 96), and a second edition of *Helmoldi Presbyteri Bozoviensis Cronica Slavorum*, which has been enlarged by the addition of *Versus de Vita Vicelini et Sidonis Epistola* (1909, pp. xxx, 273).

The thirteenth and fourteenth volumes of A. M. Christie's translation of J. Janssen's *History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages* have been issued by Kegan Paul, London.

Die Anfänge des Postwesens und die Taxis, by Dr. Fritz Ohmann (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot), contains an attempt to trace the origins of the modern German post-office, and gives many facts regarding German postal affairs from 1489 to the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Professor Eduard Wintzer has published a study of *Hermann Schwan von Marburg*, a contribution to the history of Philip the Magnanimous (Marburg, N. G. Elwert, 1909, pp. viii, 336).

An important contribution to the history of German unity is made by Dr. Karl Alexander von Müller in his work on *Bayern im Jahre 1866 und die Berufung des Fürsten Hohenlohe* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1909, pp. xvi, 292), the twentieth volume in the series issued by the editors of the *Historische Zeitschrift*.

The Cambridge University Press is publishing a translation by Dr. A. B. Yolland of a portion of Professor Henrik Marczali's *History of Hungary in the time of Joseph II. (Magyarország Története II. József Korában)*. The translated portion is concerned with the social and political condition of Hungary during the aristocratic régime.

The work has been revised to date by Professor Marczali. Mr. H. W. V. Temperley contributes a short introduction.

Four Swiss professors, MM. Baumgartner, Meyer von Kronau, Oechsli, and Tobler have begun a new historical series, *Schweizer Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft*.

A detailed study of the Servetus case has been made by Professor F. Barth of the University of Berne in his book, *Calvin und Servet* (Berne, Francke).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. Auener, *Die Kurvereine unter der Regierung König Sigmunds* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXX. 2); I. Zibermayr, *Johann Schlitpachers Aufzeichnungen als Visitor der Benediktinerklöster in der Salzburger Kirchenprovinz. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Cusanischen Klosterreformen, 1451-1452* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXX. 2); H. Ankiewicz, *Das Tagebuch Cuspinians* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXX. 2); M. Jansen, *Jakob Fugger der Reiche: Sein Eintritt in die Kaufmannschaft und seine ersten Unternehmungen* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXX. 3); J. Müller, *Die Finanzpolitik des Nürnberger Rates in der Zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Vierteljahrsschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, VII. 1); M. Ritter, *Über die Gründung, Leistungen und Aufgaben der Historischen Kommission* (Historische Zeitschrift, CIII. 2); A. Dombrowsky, *Adam Müller, die Historische Weltanschauung und die Politische Romantik* (Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft, 1909, 3).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire* (LXXVIII. 2, Brussels, Kiessling, 1909) contains an account, prepared by Professor A. Cauchie and Dr. L. Van der Essen and extending to some sixty pages, of the manuscript materials for Belgian history preserved in private archives in foreign countries.

Choix d'Études Historiques (Brussels, Weissenbruch, 1909, pp. xii, 389) gathers into one volume most of the late L. Vanderkindere's articles on the history of medieval institutions, including all those on the origin of urban constitutions, on historical geography, and political history. A discourse on the historical method prefaces the work.

From a series of articles in a Belgian ecclesiastical journal Mr. R. Weemaes has made a small book on *Les Actes Privés en Belgique depuis le X^e jusqu'au Commencement du XIII^e Siècle* (Louvain, Smeesters, 1909, pp. 106) important for legal as well as for ecclesiastical history.

On occasion of the semi-centennial of the American College at Louvain, Abbé R. Van der Heyden, an alumnus and formerly a professor of the college, has prepared a documentary history, *The Louvain Amer-*

ican College, 1857-1907 (Louvain, 1909, pp. xx, 412), having a real importance for American religious history, especially for the history of missionary endeavor.

In Dr. A. Eekhof's work on *De Questierders van den Aflaat in de Noordelijke Nederlanden* (Hague, Nijhoff, 1909, pp. xv, 108, cxxiii) the author draws a detailed picture of the sale of indulgences in the northern provinces of the Netherlands from the end of the thirteenth to the sixteenth century.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Icelandic documents from August 31, 1513, to October 31, 1521, form the contents of the third part of the eighth volume of *Diplomatarium Islandicum*, pp. 465-838.

By the addition of a second volume of 2128 pages, Professor Vladimir Ikonnikov has completed his monumental history of Russian historiography, *Opyt Russkoi Istoriographii* (Kiev, University, 1908), of which the first "volume" appeared in 1891 and 1892, and which is henceforth indispensable to all users of Russian chronicles and other historical sources.

The highest praises are given for critical learning and impartiality to M. Biednov's book on the history of the treatment of the Orthodox Church in Poland and Lithuania as mirrored in the *Volumina Legum* of the Kingdom, *Pravoslavnaia Tserkov v Polchie i Litve po Volumina Legum* (Ekaterinoslav, Baranovsky, 1908, pp. xvii, 509).

M. A.-D. Xénopol, of the University of Jassy, has published an account of the history, and material and intellectual condition of *Les Roumains* (Paris, Delagrave, 1909, pp. 157).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

Professor Learned has finished his six months of research in German archives on account of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington; his work, it will be remembered, has been confined to the materials for the history of the German emigration to America. Professor Fish has completed the manuscript of his Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and other Italian Archives, Dr. J. A. Robertson that of his list of Spanish archive-documents relating to America which have been printed or of which there are transcripts in the United States. Professor Allison has nearly finished the manuscript of his inventory of manuscript materials for American Protestant religious history. Professor Bolton has finished his Mexican investigations by researches in the archives of Monclova, Monterey, and Saltillo. The search for letters of delegates to the Continental Congress has been finished for Maine, New Hampshire, and North Carolina, while at Charleston, by the kind permission of the

South Carolina Historical Society, those in its possession are being copied.

The *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, for 1907, has now appeared, in two volumes of 550 and 646 pages respectively. The first contains the reports of the twenty-third annual meeting, held at Madison, and of the various conferences which were held on that occasion; also the following articles: Miss Annie H. Abel, Proposals for an Indian State, 1778-1878; Professor Frederic L. Paxson, Pacific Railroads and the Disappearance of the Frontier in America; John J. Earle, The Sentiment of the People of California with Respect to the Civil War; Professor Bernard Moses, the Relation of the United States to Latin America; Dr. James A. Robertson, Legazpi and Philippine Colonization. Next follows the report of the Public Archives Commission. The greater part of the volume is occupied by Professor W. S. Robertson's essay on Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America, the essay to which was awarded the Justin Winsor prize. The second volume of the report is part one of the Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas, edited by Professor George P. Garrison. Of the *Annual Report* for 1908 the first volume is now in page-proof.

The American Historical Association begins with the publication of Professor Edward B. Krehbiel's book on *The Inderdict* an important new venture, the publication in a special series of those essays to which the Justin Winsor and the Herbert Baxter Adams prizes have been or will be in alternate years awarded. Professor Krehbiel's volume, which is now practically ready for distribution, is not to be obtained through the trade but by application to the secretary of the American Historical Association, whose address is "Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C." It is hoped in the interest of the Association that many of its members will from the beginning subscribe for this additional series, the subscription price being one dollar. The second issue will be Dr. Clarence E. Carter's *Great Britain and the Illinois Country, 1763-1774*.

In the series *Original Narratives of Early American History* the volume of *Narratives of New Netherland*, edited by J. F. Jameson, was published on September 18. It contains twenty-one pieces, one of which, a description of Manhattan in 1661, has never been printed before. Among its illustrations, also, is a recently discovered early map of New Netherland, by "one who had had the command in New Netherland", probably Peter Minuit. Of the Dutch pieces, which form the main substance of the volume, and most of which have hitherto been presented in very imperfect translations, the English versions in this volume have been carefully corrected by comparison with the originals, printed or manuscript, in Holland or America. The volume of original narratives of early Delaware, West Jersey, and Pennsylvania will be edited, for publication in 1910, by Dr. Albert Cook Myers. An in-

teresting feature of it will be a translation of Pastorius's *Umständliche Geographische Beschreibung der Provinz Pennsylvaniae* (Frankfurt, 1700), never before presented in English. It will also contain translations of Swedish narratives of the Delaware River settlements, and reprints of the rare early tracts on West Jersey and Pennsylvania. Later volumes in the same series, besides Narratives of Early Maryland edited by Mr. C. C. Hall and Johnson's *Wonder-Working Providence*, already announced, will be a volume of Narratives of the Witchcraft Persecution, edited by Professor George L. Burr, one of Narratives of the Indian and French Wars, one in which shall be combined the chief narratives of the insurrections of 1688 and 1689, and others for early Carolina and the Mississippi valley.

M. L. Didier reviews recent American historical writings in the *Courrier des États-Unis* of the July number of the *Revue des Questions Historiques*.

The *Documentary History of American Industrial Society*, which Professor Ulrich B. Phillips and Professor John R. Commons are editing, will shortly appear from the press of Arthur H. Clark Company.

The article of chief interest in the May issue of the *Magazine of History* is a sketch of William Whipple by Rev. Arthur Little. There are several extracts from Whipple's letters while in Congress, particularly to John Langdon and Josiah Bartlett. Other articles are: a brief account of Illinois county names, by William D. Barge, a description of the manuscript orderly book of Washington, July 3 to September 24, 1775, and a reprint of Rev. William Morell's English version of his *Nova Anglia*. In the June issue of the *Magazine* is printed an address on Samuel Adams, by Mr. James P. Munroe.

The *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* for March includes an article by Rev. M. A. Drennan on the early history of "The Congregation of the Mission" in Philadelphia. The letters from the archiepiscopal archives at Baltimore, 1787-1815, are largely from Archbishop Carroll. There are two letters from James Madison as Secretary of State to Archbishop Carroll relative to ecclesiastical affairs at New Orleans.

Volume V., part II., of *Historical Records and Studies* of the United States Catholic Historical Society contains a number of noteworthy papers, principal among which is "The Capuchins in America", by Rev. Otto Jeron. Father Jeron died in 1907, leaving his history in an incomplete state; what is published in this volume relates mainly to North America. "Old Saint Peter's, or the Beginnings of Catholicity in Baltimore", by Rev. J. A. Frederick, is another study of considerable scope and value. A biographical account of Governor Edward Kavanagh of Maine, by Rev. Charles W. Collins, is of interest for its bearing on the Maine boundary question. Some useful facts are gathered in a brief article by E. J. McGuire on "The Catholic Bar of New York from

1808 to 1908". The letters of Rev. P. J. De Smet, mentioned hitherto in these pages, are continued, and Mr. Peter Condon gives the concluding chapter of his study entitled "Constitutional Freedom of Religion and the Revivals of Religious Intolerance". This chapter relates mainly to the Know-Nothing movement.

It is announced that Lemcke and Buechner of New York will bring out in this country Rudolph Cronau's *Drei Jahrhunderte Deutschen Lebens in Amerika*.

Readings on American Federal Government, by Professor Paul S. Reinsch, published by Ginn and Company, comprises chiefly selections from recent speeches, addresses, and published articles. The editor indicates that his purpose is to give those who use the book the opportunity to see what is actually being done at the present time.

A valuable bibliography issued by the Library of Congress is a *List of Works relating to the Supreme Court of the United States* (pp. 124), compiled under the direction of H. H. B. Meyer, chief bibliographer. Thirty-eight pages are devoted to general works on the court; reports and digests are listed in eight pages, and the remainder comprises material on the chief justices and associate justices, with some of the more important works of the chief justices. There is an author index.

Recent numbers of the *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law* are *Transportation and Industrial Development in the Middle West*, by W. F. Gephart, and *The Conflict over Judicial Powers in the United States to 1870*, by C. G. Haines.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

L'Amérique Précolombienne: Essai sur l'Origine de sa Civilisation, by Alphonse Gagnon (Quebec, Typographie Laflamme et Proulx, pp. 376), is a study of the ancient civilizations of Mexico, Central America, and Peru, with brief preliminary investigations of such questions as *Unité d'Origine ou Pluralité des Races Indigènes Américaines*, the Mound Builders, etc. The work is divided into two parts, *Les Monuments*, and *Les Civilisateurs*, to which are added chapters on related topics: *Ce qu'est devenue la Race Civilisatrice*, *Antiquité des Ruines Américaines*, *Immigrations Itératives*, *Influences Chamitiques sur les Civilisations Sémitiques et Aryennes*, and *Question de Linguiste*. The book is illustrated.

Halldor Hermannsson's bibliography, *Islandica*, which is being issued by the Cornell University Library, is continued in a second volume relating to the Northmen in America.

Longmans, Green, and Company have brought out *Explorers in the New World before and after Columbus; and the Story of the Jesuit Missions of Paraguay, with pre-Columbian Maps*, by Mrs. Marion M. Mulhall.

Professor Edgar L. Hewett, director of the School of American Archaeology at Santa Fé, reports the discovery in Arizona, in a secluded cañon in the heart of the Navajo reservation, of a series of great caves cut in the solid rock, and filled with the ruins of stone huts of a kind never before encountered and with remains of early pottery. The ruins were accompanied by extensive hieroglyphic inscriptions.

Mr. Wouter Nijhoff has reprinted with additional notes and documents Mr. Henry C. Murphy's very rare booklet, *Henry Hudson in Holland* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1909, pp. 162). All the original documents relating to the third voyage and known to exist in the Dutch, are printed in Dutch, and in English translation.

It is announced that Harper and Brothers are about to publish *Henry Hudson and his Career*, by Thomas A. Janvier, in which will appear some newly discovered material. Another work on Hudson on the eve of appearing is by Miss Agnes C. Laut and will be published by Moffat, Yard, and Company.

Ginn and Company have announced for early publication *The Economic History of the United States, 1765-1860*, by G. S. Callender.

American Bibliography, volume V. (1774-1778), prepared by Charles Evans, has come from the press (Chicago, privately printed for the author by the Blakely Press).

The Transitional Period, 1788-1789, in the Government of the United States, by F. F. Stephens, appears in the Social Science Series of the *University of Missouri Studies*.

Expenditures of the United States Government, 1791-1907 (pp. 42), a compilation made by the Director of the Census for the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives, has been issued by the Government Printing Office.

Messrs. Henry Holt and Company will bring out this fall a new edition of the *Travels of John Davis* in the United States, edited by Mr. Alfred J. Morrison.

The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America, by Alice Dana Adams, is a Radcliffe College monograph (Ginn and Company).

The Journal of an American Prisoner at Fort Malden and Quebec in the War of 1812, edited by G. M. Fairchild, jr., has been privately printed at Quebec by Frank Carrel, Limited. The author of the journal was the surgeon's mate of the Cuyahoga packet boat, which, while conveying supplies and invalids of General Hull's army from Maumee to Detroit, was captured off Fort Malden by the British on July 2, 1812.

It is announced that Sturgis and Walton will publish shortly *West Point and the United States Military Academy: a Brief History*, by Dr. Edward S. Holden, librarian of the academy. The work is based on materials in possession of the academy.

Volume II. of the *Letters and Journals of Samuel Gridley Howe*, edited by his daughter, Laura E. Richards, with notes by F. B. Sanborn, has come from the press (Dana Estes and Company). It deals chiefly with Dr. Howe's labors for the education of the blind.

The seventh volume of Professor McMaster's *History of the People of the United States* is to be published this autumn (Appleton).

The interesting "Home Letters" of General Sherman which have had an important place in *Scribner's Magazine* during the past few months are soon to appear in book form.

Mr. John Bigelow's *Retrospections of an Active Life*, in three volumes, will be published shortly by the Baker and Taylor Company. The work is understood to cover the period from 1817 to 1867 and to include full accounts of the Trent Affair and the French occupation of Mexico.

Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson, vice-president of the United States under President Cleveland, and a prominent figure in politics, especially those of Illinois, is about to publish a volume of reminiscences under the title *Something of Men I Have Known* (Chicago, McClurg).

The *Fenian Movement*, by Clyde L. King, is a recent contribution to the *University of Colorado Studies*.

It is announced that Charles H. Kerr and Company will shortly publish the first volume of a work by Gustavus Meyers entitled *History of the Great American Fortunes*. The work will run to three volumes.

Dr. Max Kullnick has published a small book on *Präsident Taft* (Berlin, Mittler, 1909, pp. vi, 89).

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

A Dictionary of American-Indian Place and Proper Names in New England, by R. A. Douglas-Lithgow, M.D., has been published at Salem by the Salem Press Company.

History of the Town of Waitsfield, Vermont, 1782-1908, by M. B. Jones, is published at Boston by George E. Littlefield. The work is largely genealogical in character.

The *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, third series, vol. II., pp. 318-341, will contain several letters of James Monroe, and, pp. 381-442, a valuable correspondence between George Bancroft and Martin Van Buren, 1830-1845, important to the political history of Massachusetts and of the historian.

Apropos of the Fulton centennial the Brooklyn Public Library has issued a *List of Books and Magazine Articles on Henry Hudson and the Hudson River, Robert Fulton and Early Steam Navigation*.

Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, state historian of New York, has prepared for publication the *Minutes of the Commissioners for Detecting and*

Defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York, Albany Sessions, 1778-1781. Mr. Paltsits has made a thorough study of this body, the results of which will be presented in an extensive introduction. In an appendix will be given the laws relating to the commission, in another appendix a collection of financial data, the result of much research, and in a third the oaths and other miscellaneous matter. The whole work will be in three volumes, the third volume being an elaborate analytical index. Mr. Paltsits is also preparing for early publication the *Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York, 1668-1673.*

It is expected that the third volume of Mr. D. S. Alexander's *Political History of the State of New York*, which brings the narrative to the first term of President Cleveland, will come from the press in the early autumn.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has recently acquired 52 manuscript letters of Pennsylvania officers in the War of the Revolution and a collection of 2072 assorted early pamphlets.

The pages of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for July are occupied almost entirely with documentary materials. The orderly book of General J. P. G. Muhlenberg, March 26 to December 20, 1777 (the part printed in this issue ends with June 5), throws light on the conditions of the army and its movements. Colonel Hubley's journal is continued (August 14 to September 13, 1779) and is accompanied by numerous sketches of encampments. There are several letters from William Penn, 1685 to 1691, and one from James Logan to Hannah Penn, written at the end of the year 1725, which is concerned largely with proprietary affairs and especially with matters pertaining to the Lower Counties. A valuable series begun in this issue of the *Magazine* is selections from the letter-books of Thomas Wharton, 1773-1783. These letters of a Philadelphia merchant throw much light on social and political conditions in Pennsylvania during the Revolutionary period, as also on the tendency to take up western lands, a matter in which Wharton was interested. Some correspondence of General Edward Hand, 1779-1781, illustrates phases of military history.

The whole anthracite business of Pennsylvania may be said to have sprung from the experiment made by Judge Jesse Fell of Wilkes-Barré when on February 11, 1808, he first burned the stone coal of his valley as fuel, in a grate devised by him. On the fiftieth anniversary of this event the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society was founded. Its hundredth anniversary, and the fiftieth of the society, were marked by a celebration in February, 1908, the record of which occupies the greater part of volume X. of the society's *Proceedings and Collections*, edited by the secretary, Rev. Horace E. Hayden. The chief paper, on the results of Judge Fell's experiment, by Mr. William Griffith, is of great interest and value, and is accompanied with curious and telling

illustrations. The volume also contains an article on the capture by the Indians, in 1782, of the family of Rosewell Franklin, and their rescue; also, from the roll of Revolutionary pensioners published by the Secretary of War in 1835, the list of those dwelling in Bradford and Luzerne counties.

The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography for July offers in its documentary series a variety of material. Some items from the Randolph manuscript touch upon the controversy between Governor Berkeley and the Assembly over the question of taxation. The "Virginia Legislative Papers" in this issue are, for the most part, of the year 1776 and include some letters from county committees and others to Edmund Pendleton, president of the Virginia Convention. A letter from Richard Harrison at Martinique in July, 1776, to the Committee of Safety relates to the business of obtaining supplies from the West Indies. In a series of miscellaneous colonial documents is found a memorial of James Abercromby, agent for the government of Virginia, in support of an address to the king from the council in 1755. Other items deserving mention are "Lord Baltimore's Reason of State concerning Maryland, 1652", and a note concerning the identity of Governor Francis Lovelace.

North Carolina's Priority in the Demand for a Declaration of Independence, by R. D. W. Connor, has been reprinted from the July number of the *South Atlantic Quarterly*. Mr. Connor's theme is not the Mecklenburg Declaration but "The Resolution of the Congress at Halifax, April 12, 1776, and its Influence on the Sentiment for Independence in the United Colonies". The study is a compact and judicious presentation of the case. Mr. Connor is also bringing out a volume of some two hundred pages on *Cornelius Harnett*.

In the *John P. Branch Historical Papers*, volume III., number 1, Professor William E. Dodd publishes a body of miscellaneous letters of Nathaniel Macon, extending from 1798 to 1836 and accompanied by a few letters addressed to him. These, he assures us, complete the Macon correspondence in so far as it is known to be preserved, supplementing fragments which he has published in three or four different places in former years.

The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine for July contains a letter from Commodore Alexander Gillon to the South Carolina delegates in Congress, written from L'Orient in June, 1779, and pertaining to his mission in France. A letter from Rawlins Lowndes to Henry Laurens, March 30, 1778, gives an account of the loss of the ship *Randolph*. The "Abstracts from the Records of the Court of Ordinary of the Province of South Carolina, 1692-1700", contributed by A. S. Salley, Jr., are continued.

The Alabama Historical Society has issued a reprint of Professor T. C. McCorvey's essay on *The Mission of Francis Scott Key to*

Alabama in 1833, which was published in volume IV. of the society's *Transactions*.

The *German American Annals* for July and August, 1909, contains the conclusion of Professor Deiler's article on the "Settlement of the German Coast of Louisiana and the Creoles of German Descent"; and the continuation of Dr. G. G. Benjamin's article on "Germans in Texas".

The July number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is mainly occupied with three articles: one by Mr. William C. Mills, on Explorations of the Seip Mound, an important earth-work belonging to the highest culture of aboriginal man in Ohio; a second, on the Centennial of Miami University, by Professor A. H. Upham; and a third by Miss Lucy Elliot Keeler, on Spiegel Grove, the home of President Hayes, of which a portion has lately been deeded by Colonel Webb C. Hayes to the state of Ohio for the Ohio Archaeological Society.

The April-June issue of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* is occupied entirely with the second installment of the James McBride manuscripts relating to Miami University. The selections are arranged and edited by Professor J. E. Bradford.

Correspondence of Thomas Ebenezer Thomas, mainly relating to the Anti-Slavery Conflict in Ohio, especially in the Presbyterian Church, comes from the press of Robert Clarke Company.

The history section of the Indiana State Teachers' Association met at Indianapolis April 30 and May 1. In addition to discussions relating to the teaching of history, papers were read by Mr. A. C. Harris on "The Foreign Service of the United States", and by Mr. J. H. Holliday on "Indianapolis in the Civil War".

Under the title "Some Religious Developments in Indiana" Mr. C. B. Coleman contributes to the June issue of the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* a discussion of the beginnings of Protestant churches in Indiana.

An account of the erection and dedication of the monument on the battlefield of Tippecanoe, together with material relating to the battle, has been published by the monument commission. The compiler is Mr. A. O. Reser.

The Transition in Illinois from British to American Government, by R. L. Schuyler, comes from the Columbia University Press.

Volume IV. of the *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library* begins what is termed the "Executive Series", a series to be devoted to the manuscript material illustrating the office of the chief executive of the state. The present volume consists of the letter-books

of the governors from 1818 to 1834 (Shadrach Bond, 1818-1822, Edward Coles, 1822-1826, Ninian Edwards, 1826-1830, John Reynolds, 1830-1834). While the majority of the letters are from the governors, there is also much other official correspondence. The period covered is that in which the state developed from a raw frontier community of about forty thousand people sparsely distributed to a well organized commonwealth of a quarter of a million inhabitants. Of chief importance among the political issues dealt with in these letters are the land question, to which the educational problem was closely related, internal improvements, banking and finance, and the relations to the Indians. The letters themselves occupy 264 pages of the volume. A chronological list of them is appended, and there is an index to the entire volume. In addition to a helpful introduction there are occasional annotations, chiefly biographical.

The History of Cumulative Voting and Minority Representation in Illinois, 1870-1808, by B. F. Moore, appears as a *Bulletin* of the University of Illinois.

Mr. Clarence M. Burton has recently acquired for the Burton Library a very large mass of papers from northern Michigan illustrating in a wide variety of ways the history of the fur-trade in that region during the early part of the nineteenth century.

The *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* prints in its July issue a "Journal of Marches by the First United States Dragoons, 1834-1835". The journal, which is temporarily in the possession of the State Historical Society of Iowa, is edited by Mr. Louis Pelzer. The marches recorded in the journal are from Jefferson Barracks, near St. Louis, to Fort Gibson, in May and June, 1834; from Fort Gibson to the headwaters of Red River, June to August, 1834; from Fort Gibson to Fort Des Moines, September, 1834; and from Fort Des Moines to Wabashaw's village in Minnesota, and return, June to August, 1835. Several of the officers on these expeditions distinguished themselves in the Mexican and Civil Wars. The author of the journal, one of the dragoons, has not been identified. Mr. J. Van der Zee contributes to this issue a study of the amendments to the Constitution of the United States proposed in the legislature of Iowa from 1846 to 1909, and Professor F. H. Garver contributes another of his papers relating to the establishment of counties in Iowa.

The article of chief general interest in the April issue of the *Annals of Iowa* is Professor F. I. Herriott's contribution, "Iowa and the First Nomination of Abraham Lincoln". Other articles of interest are Mr. Edward H. Stiles's sketch of Judge John F. Dillon, which is to be continued, and a contribution to the early history of Iowa State College, "Laying the Foundations", by C. E. Bessey. The principal article in the July issue is the second installment of Mr. Stiles's paper. Colonel David Palmer contributes "Recollections of War Times", and Hon.

F. W. Eichelberger a paper on "Governor Kirkwood and the Skunk River War". "The Upper Des Moines Valley, 1848" is the fragment of a journal by an unknown author found among the papers of Edwin Goddard of Keosauqua, Iowa. The Historical Department has come into possession of the manuscript and other materials of Captain James H. Jordan, which relate to the settlement of Iowa.

A Check-list of Books and Pamphlets relating to the History of the Pacific Northwest to be found in Representative Libraries of that Region has been prepared co-operatively by officials of these various libraries, situated in Oregon, Washington, Montana, and British Columbia, and published by the Washington State Library in a pamphlet of 191 pages, compiled by Mr. Charles W. Smith, assistant librarian in the library of the University of Washington. It is well made, annotated to some extent, and can serve as a partial bibliography of the history of the region.

The Columbia River: its History, its Myths, its Scenery, its Commerce, by Professor W. D. Lyman, has come from the press of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

A five-volume *History of Washington*, by C. A. Snowden, has appeared in New York with the imprint of the Century History Company.

The celebration of the third centenary of the founding of Quebec, July 19 to 31, 1908, has been recorded in a volume entitled *Troisième Centenaire de la Fondation de Québec, Berceau du Canada, par Champlain, 1608-1908*, compiled by H.-J.-J.-B.-Chouinard (Quebec, 1908, Laflamme et Proulx, pp. 270). The idea of the celebration appears to have originated with M. Chouinard and was put forth in a published article in December, 1904. The first steps of organization were taken through the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste early in 1906. As is well known, the celebration was carried out on a grand scale, consisting of demonstrations, reviews, historical spectacles, pageants, etc., representing the pivotal events in the history of Canada. In this volume is found the entire story of the inception and progress of the celebration, together with the deliberations of the committee in charge and the various documents pertaining to the affair.

In 1902 appeared Professor Frederic De Kastner's *Héros de la Nouvelle France, Première Série*, in which are told the stories of Pierre Dollard des Ormeaux, Lemoine d'Iberville and his family, and Marie Madeleine de Verchères. Two other numbers are now at hand. The *Deuxième Série* (pp. 102) contains "Lemoine de Bienville et l'Établissement de la Louisiane", with incidental accounts of Sérigny, Chateauguay, St. Denis, and Boisbriant. The *Troisième Série* (pp. 98) comprises "Les La Vérendrye père et fils, Dufrost de la Jemeraye et la Découverte du Nord-Ouest", with a preliminary description of the northwest region of Canada condensed from several sources. This description occupies nearly half the volume. The stories, constructed

from original narratives and secondary works, are written in vivacious style and will make accessible and attractive these records of exploration and discovery.

Mr. N. O. Winter, the author of *Mexico and her People To-day*, has written a similar book, *Guatemala and her People of To-day; being an Account of the Land, its History and Development*, which is published by L. C. Page and Company.

The John Carter Brown Library has put forth in a limited edition a facsimile of the first issue of the *Gazeta de Lima*, with a description of a file for the years 1744-1763.

Professor Dean C. Worcester has issued through the Bureau of Printing, Manila, an *Appendix* (pp. 102) to his *History of Asiatic Cholera in the Philippine Islands*. One purpose of the appendix is to correct some errors in the statistical tables and to bring the work up to date; but the principal object is to make public the correspondence relative to a question at issue between the Municipal Board and the Bureau of Health.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Harrisse, *Sébastien Cabot, Pilote-Major de Charles-Quint, 1512-1547* (*Revue Historique*, September-October); H. M. King, *Was John Cotton the Preceptor of Sir Henry Vane, Jr?* (*The Nation*, June 10); G. S. Ford, *Two German Publicists on the American Revolution* (*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, April); G. F. Zook, *Proposals for a New Commercial Treaty between France and the United States, 1778-1793* (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, June); E. S. Dudley, "Secession", *Was it Taught at West Point?* (*Century*, August); *Diary of Gideon Welles*, V., VI., VII. (*Atlantic*, June, July, August); Morris Schaff, *Battle of the Wilderness*, I., II., III. (*Atlantic*, June, July, August); R. W. Gilder, *Grover Cleveland* (*Century*, August); F. W. Moore, *The Study and Teaching of History in the South* (*Sewanee Review*, April); B. C. Steiner, *Maryland and the West* (*South Atlantic Quarterly*, June); J. W. Putnam, *An Economic History of the Illinois and Michigan Canal* (*Journal of Political Economy*, May, June, July).

